Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE PORTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

Whereunto are annexed His *Praiers* and *Apophthegms* &c.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

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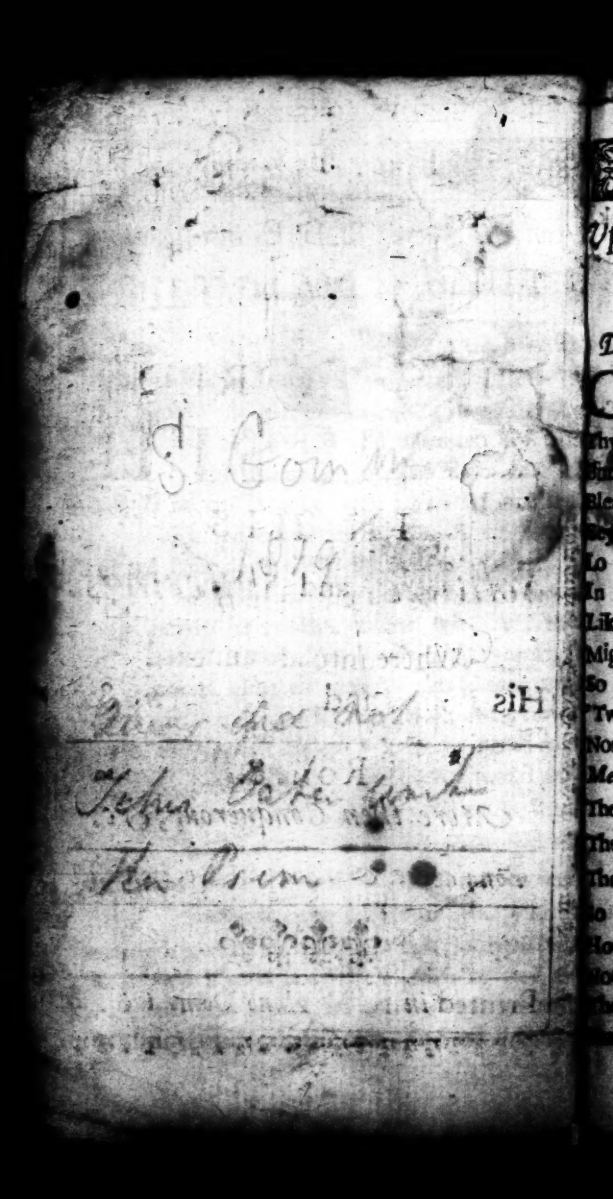

Upon His Sacred Majesties incomparable

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Dread Sir!

COuldst Thou before Thy death have *giv'n*, what we
Might *ask*, Thy *Book* had been the *Legacie*.
Thy *Will* can make but *Heirs* of *Monarchie*;
This doth make each man an Heir of *Thee*.
Blest Soul! *Thou* art now mounted up on High,
Beyond our *Reach*, yet not above our *Eie*.
Lo here Thy *other-Self*: Thus Thou canst bee
In Heav'n and Earth, without *Vbiquitie*.
Like This Thou hast no *Picture*: So Divine,
Might any *Image* bee ador'd, 't were *Thine*.
So curious is this Work; 'tis easily known,
'Twas drawn by no man's *Pencil*, but Thine own.
None could expresse a *King*, but Thou: Wee see
Men cannot, *Gods* may limn a *Deitie*.
The *Style* betraie's a *King*, the *Art* a *Man*,
The high *Devotion* speake's a *Christian*:
These meet in CHARLS alone; but Hee, there's none
So fully *All*, as if Hee were but *One*:
How short of Thee is *Balzack's* Prince; Hee knew
Not how to *think*, what *Thou* knew'st how to *do*:
Thou art the *Copie* for our Kings: and Hee
Shall still bee best, that frame's Himself by *Thee*:

Thy Work's a Practick *Pattern* for Thy *Sons*,
Who, having This, shall need no *Xenophons*.
They that would know thy Parts, must read *Thee*: Look,
You'l finde each *Line* a *Page*, each *Page* a *Book*;
Each *Comma* is so full, each *Colon* good,
'Tis Pitie, death did put a *Period*.
Great *Tullie* had been silenc'd amongst men,
Had but Thy *Tongue* been equal to Thy *Pen*:
But this *Defect* doth prove Thy skil more choice,
That make's the *Eccho* sweeter then the voice:
Our *Bodley's* shelves will now bee full; No man
Will want more Books; This one's a *Vaticen*.
Yet 'tis but CHARLS contracted: Since His fame
Heav'n hath the *Volume*, Earth the *Manual*.

F. N. G.

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An Epitaph upon King *Charls*.

SO fall's that stately Cedar : *While it stood,*
That was the onely Glorie of the Wood.
Great Charls, *thou earthly God, Celestial Man,*
Whose life, like other's, though it were a Span ;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heav'nlie Virtues Angels should rehers ;
It is a theme too high for humane Vers.
Hee that would know Thee right then, let him lo
upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e ; which if hee do,
Hee'l finde Thee King, *&* Priest, *&* Prophet *t*
And sadly see our loss ; and, though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hers,
Though there were neither Monument nor Vers.
Thy Suff'rings *and Thy* Death *let no man nam*
It was Thy Glorie, *but the Kingdom's* Sham

J. H

ΜΑ'ΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θείων, Πατρικῶν
Νόμων, ἔχ' ἄριστος
Σκηπτούχων ΚΑ'ΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἀλητέ
χερσὶν ἔπιπτεν.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

1. *Upon His Majestie's calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by other's advice, and necessitie of My affairs, then by My own choise and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right waie of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks which *som men's* distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for som years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet, resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped, by My freedom and their Moderation, to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with som passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self; not doubting, but, by the weight of Reason, I should counterpoiz the over-balancings of anie factions.

2. I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places; yet, hoping that the gravitie and discretion of other Gentlemen would allaie and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding som men's

wel-meaning zeal by such Rules of Moderation a
are best both to preserv and restore the health of al
States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleas
with the convening of this Parliament, then My
self; who, knowing best the largeness of My own
Heart toward My People's good, and just content
ment, pleased My self most in that good and firm
understanding which would hence grow between Me
and My People.

All jealousies beeing laid aside, My own and My
Children's Interests gave Mee manie obligations to
seek and preserv the love and welfare of My Sub-
jects; the onely temporal blessing that is left to the
ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest hono
and safetie, next God's protection. I cared not t
lessen My self in som things of My wonted Preroga-
tive, since I knew I could bee no loser, if I might
but gain a recompens in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, bu
Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires o
those that were factiously discontented, if they di
but pretend to anie modest and sober sens.

The *Odium* and offenses, which som men's rigo
or remisness in Church and State had contracted upo
My Government, I resolved to have expiated b
such Laws and regulations for the future, as migh
not onely rectifie what was amiss in Practice; bu
supplie what was defective in the Constitution: N
man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled
and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My
self; whom it most concern's both in Pietie, and
Policie, as knowing, that, *No flames of civil disse
tions are more dangerous then those which make reli
gious pretensions the grounds of Factions.*

I resolved to reform what I should by free an
full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amis
and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscienc
told Mee was fit to bee desired; I wish I had kep
My self within those bounds, and not suffered M
Ou

own Judgment to have been over-born in ſom things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had leſs betraied My ſelf and My Kingdoms to thoſe advantages, which *Som Men* ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchief.

But, our ſins beeing ripe, there was no preventing of God's Juſtice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Proſperitie.

For Thou, O Lord, haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies ſatisfie Thy Juſtice, nor prevent Thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have overlaid our hopes; Thou haſt taught us to depend on Thy Mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſes to amend.

When Thou haſt vindicated Thy Glorie by Thy Judgments, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend Thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe Thee; Then I truſt Thy Mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which wee have ſo much abuſed, as to force Thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timelie repentance of our ſins, Thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe Remedies wee too late applie.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to Thy Glorie, and My People's Good.

The Miſeries which have enſued upon Mee and My Kingdoms are the juſt effects of Thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may bee yet (through Thy Mercie) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoie them.

O Lord, though Thou haſt deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and Thy chaſtiſements; that Thy rod, as well as Thy ſtaff, may comfort us; Then ſhall wee dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an

Enemie, but a Father, when Thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience and repentance, which becom's Thy Children. I ſhall have no cauſ to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them Thou haſt brought Mee and My People unfeignedly to repent of the ſins wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could bee with our ſins.

O Thou Sovereign Goodneſs and Wiſdom, who overruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts, that the worſt things wee ſuffer by Thy Juſtice, the better wee may bee by Thy Mercie.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poiſon; ſo let Thy Grace turn our Poiſon into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappie War; ſo let this war prepare us for Thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſom Kingdoms here, yet I may attein to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in Thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and Thou wilt give to Thy Servant (though a Sinner) for My Saviour's ſake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *Death.*

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to emploie him in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings; and this was like enough to betraie him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphere, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, hee muſt needs, (as the Sun) raiſ manie envious exhalations, which, condenſed by a popular odium, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integritie.

Though

§ 2. Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People, more then by his own disposition to anie hight and rigor of actions; yet I could never bee convinced of anie such criminousnes in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his Enemies.

§ 3. I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earl when, between My own unsatisfiednes in Conscience, and a necessitie (as Som told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of *Som People*, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Mee well, to chuse rather what was *safe*, then what seemed *just*; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnes of Conscience with God.

And, indeed, I am so far from excusing, or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death; That I never bare anie touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailtie, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whose Name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by Acts of so high injustice, as no Publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

§ 4. I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to salv State-sores, to Calm the storms of Popular discontents, by stirring up a Tempest in a man's own bosom.

§ 5. Nor hath God's Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacie of that maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased, or destroied*. For,

In all likelihood, I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater

comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford*'s innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Mee, then I have don since I gratified *Som Men's* unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Mee to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they: Hee onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Mee not to Consent against the Vote of My own Conscience. I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which beeing in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Mee are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his Mercie hath sanctified so to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That *the best rule of Policie is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoiments; and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.*

§. 6. Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford*'s Business.

Not that I resolved to have imploied him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament; but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, then anie man living could bee.

§. 7. Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that Hous. And for the Hous of Commons, manie Gentlemen, dis-

posed

posed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford*'s greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were, by posting their Names exposed to the Popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning Partie, then satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

§ 8. And that after-Act vacating the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tell's the world, that som remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard measure, and such as they would bee verie loth should bee repeated to themselvs.

§ 9. This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for having had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the color and formalitie of Justice, and pretenses of avoiding Publick mischiefs, which may (I hope) bee som evidence before God and Man, to all posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly that vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappie War, which *Som Men* will needs charge on Mee, to eas their own souls, who am, and ever shall bee, more afraid to take awaie anie man's life unjustly, then to lose Mine own.

But Thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of sinful compliance, *which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man; since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him, and by My Place should, at least so far, have been a Preserver of him, as to have denied My consent to his destruction.*

O Lord, I acknowledg My transgression, and My sin is ever before Mee.

Deliver Mee from blood-guiltiness, O God, Thou God of My salvation, and My tongue shall sing of Thy Righteousness.

Against Thee have I sinned, and don this evil in Thy sight, for Thou saweſt the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Tee cast Mee not away from Thy Presence, purge Mee with the blood of My Redeemer, and I shall bee clean; wash Mee with that pretious effusion, and I shall bee whiter then Snow.

Teach Mee to learn Righteousness by Thy Judgements, and to see My frailtie in Thy Justice: while I was perswaded, by shedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles; Thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Mee, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Mee to prefer Justice, which is Thy will, before all contrarie clamors, which are but discoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcom Mee, to pleas them by displeasing Thee: O never suffer Mee for anie Reason of State, to go against My Reason of Conscience; which is highly to sin against Thee, the God of Reason, and Judg of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, Thou seeſt fit to deprive Mee of, yet restore unto Mee the joie of Thy salvation, and ever uphold Mee with Thy free Spirit; who subjects My will to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shine's in My Soul: for Thou desireſt Truth in the inward parts, and integritie in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of Thy Sons, and My Saviour's Blood, which speak's better things: O make Mee, and My people, to hear the voice of Joie and Gladness, that the bones which Thou hast broken may rejoice in Thy salvation.

3. *Upon His Majestie's going to the Hous of Commons.*

MY going to the Hous of Commons, to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an Act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears; yea, and manie of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then from Reason, and not guided with such discrerion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the Just Motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure, or revenge against *those men's* persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under *some men's* own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such Probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God know's was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie: or elſe to have cleared their Innocencie, and removed

My ſuſpicions: which, as they were not raiſed out of anie malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to bee ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedie and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs: The aſperſion which ſom men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſ of Commons and invade their Privilege, is ſo falſ, that as, God beſt know's, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended could juſtly gather from anie thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of anie ſuch thoughts.

§ 2. That I went attended with ſom Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſtie and ſafetie of a King ſo to bee attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were My followers at that time ſhort of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazzard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at My coming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſom affronts caſt upon Mee, if I had none with Mee to preſerv a Reverence to Mee; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Mee, both by words and deeds.

The ſum of that Buſineſs was this:

§ 3. Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leav them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no Preſent impunitie, or Popular vindications of them will bee ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, wee muſt religiouſly appeal, as beeing an argument to us Chriſtians of that after-unavoidable judgment

ment, which shall re-judg, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

§ 4. I endevoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelihood follow *Som Men's* activitie, if not restreined; and so now hath don to the undoing of manie thousands; the more is the pitie:

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Autoritie by anie violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But Thou, O Lord, art My witness in Heaven, and in My heart: If I have purposed anie violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were anie such wickedness in My thoughts;

Then let the Enemie persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that see'st not as man see'th, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew Thy self.

Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of My sin, in that matter, more then their impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their Innocencie.

But forgive them wherein they have don amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save Thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of My heart, and the innocencie of My hands in this matter.

Plead My caus, and maintain My right, O Thou that sittest in the Throne, judging righteously, that Thy servant may ever rejoice in Thy salvation.

4. Upon

4. *Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought anie thing, except our sins, more ominouslie presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, which yet want's not its terror; but like an Earth-quake, shaking the verie foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

§ 2. As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while His power set's bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less that Hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation, then when Hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all boundaries of Law and Reverence to Autoritie:

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting som Members of both Houses, as they phancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

§ 3. Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague; but a quotidian Fever, alwaies increasing to higher inflammations, impatient of anie mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a Guard against those fears which *som men* stared themselvs and others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee feared and less to bee used by wise men then those tumultuarie Confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protest, then to Dictate, at last to command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All

§ 4. All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candor) muſt bee taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacie of men, reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt bee ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt bee backed and abetted, til they prevailed.

§ 5. Generally, who ever had moſt minde to bring forth confuſion and ruine, upon Church and State, uſed the midwiferie of thoſe Tumults; whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtaie the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateneſs befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Encouragers moſt phancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could bee without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by *ſom*, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by *others*.

§ 6. What good man had not rather want anie thing hee moſt deſired, for the Publick good, then obtein it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But *men's paſſions and God's directions ſeldom agree. Violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines. Such as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelvs to God's means. Force muſt crowd in, what Reaſon will not lead.*

§ 7. Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and imbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, *ſom men* yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance. God in his due time will let theſe ſee that thoſe were no fit means to bee uſed for attaining his ends.

But

But as it is no ſtrange thing for the ſea to rage, when ſtrong windes blow upon it; ſo neither for multitudes to becom inſolent, when they have Men of ſom reputation for parts and pietie to ſet them on.

§ 8. That which made their rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, That manie Complaints beeing made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſom of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſs could bee obteined with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-ſpread diſeaſ, and predominant miſchief.

§ 9. Such was ſom men's *ſtupiditie*, that they feared no inconvenience: Other's *petulancie*, that they joied to ſee their Betters ſhamefully out-raged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuritie conſiſted in vulgar flatterie: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common Safetie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie order bee obteined impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known *Bouteſeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults, as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, *Som* (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtrie; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goe's about ſeeking whom hee may* deceiv, and *devour*.

§ 10. I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My Self, could take place for the due ſuppreſſion of theſe Tumults, and ſecuring, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My Self not bound, by My Preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts: I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining ſom degrees of modeſtie and ſober ſenſ.

Som

Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie for anie man for Popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it *a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea*; which to resist, at present, threaten's imminent danger; but to withdraw, give's it space to spend its furie, and gain's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a *Gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.*

§ 11. *Som* suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War when I went from *White-Hall* onely to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence: God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would by so manie former, and after-Acts, have so much weak'ned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War; which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so manie particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto for protection or vindication.

§ 12. Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for withdrawing our selvs from the dailie baitings of the Tumults; not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws. God, who is My sole Judg and witness in Heaven, knoweth that I never had anie thoughts of going from My Hous at *White-Hall*, if I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majestie of My Place and Person, the safetie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudeness and petulancie.

§ 13. But this business of the Tumults (whereof *Som* have giv'n alreadie an account to God, others yet living know themselvs desperately guiltie)

Time

Time and the guilt of manie hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leav it, as it is: onely, I believ the just Avenger of all disorders will in time make those men, and that Citie see their sin in the glass of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-late that they may one daie see themselvs punished by that waie they offended.

§ 14. Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses beeing left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reason, Honor, and Religion they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have giv'n no less content to all good men, then they wished, or exspected.

For I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian courses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

§ 15. I am prone somtimes to think, that had I called this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have don) the sad consequences, in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. *A Parliament would have been welcom in anie place:* No place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who order's our disorders, and magnifie's His Wisdom and Mercie most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But Thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defens; to Thee I may safely flie, Who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon Me, and are readie to overwhelm Me.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People,

(which

(which are the tumults of our Souls against Thee O Lord) as the just cause of these Popular inundations, which Thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loialtie, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But Thou that gathered'st the waters into one place, and madest the drie land to appear, and after did'st asswage the flood which drowned the World, by the Word of Thy Power; rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver Me from the rudeness and strivings of the Multitude.

Restore, wee beseech Thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Counsels and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Christians; so shall wee praise Thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, Thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them, that are yet living, a timelie sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom Thou knowest guiltie of raising, or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason; to our errors by Truth; to our seditions by Laws duely executed; and to our schisms by Charitie; that wee may bee, as Thy Jerusalem, a Citie at unitie in it self.

This grant, O My God, in Thy good time, for Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majestie's passing the* Bill *for the* Triennial *Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what, in Justice,

Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the Happie success of this Parliament, (which had in Mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the *Bill* for *Triennial* Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might, if well applied, prevent anie distempers from getting anie head or prevailing; especially, if the remedie proved not a disease beyond all remedie.

§ 2. I conceived this Parliament would finde work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagin that *Som Men* would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well don to their hands. *Such is* Som Men's *activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it, and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing.*

When that first Act seemed too scantie to satisfie *Som Men's* fears, and compass Publick Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that *Bill* of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted, in *Som Men's* sense, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as *Som Men* have now requited Mee.

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predecessors, yet cannot in reason admit of anie worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to denie My self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For *good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should bee worse by My bettering their's*: Nor indeed would it have been so in the event, if *Som Men* had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

§ 3.

§ 3. A continual Parliament, I thought, would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigor; wherein My interest lie's more then anie man's; since by those Laws, My Rights, as a *King*, would bee preserved no less then My Subject's; which is all I desired. *More then the Law give's Mee I would not have; and less the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.*

§ 4. *Som* (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Mee of that settling *Act:* and manie would needs perswade Mee, I had cauſ so to do: But I could not easily, nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the less I should have, and enjoie with them. *I still counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people.*

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Mee with increas of it, when Men shall have more leasure, and less prejudice: that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princelie then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now onely miserable in this, That *Som Men's* ambition will not give them leav to enjoie what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the Loial and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honor and Love to Mee, or My Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the Acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God know, s) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to Men, that beeing professedly My Subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictness.

§ 5. The injurie of all injuries is, That which *Som Men* will needs load Mee withal, as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subject's

Subject's miseries, while (as they confidently, but God know's, faisly divulge) I, repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endevoured by force and open hostilitie to undo what by My Roial assent I had don. Sure it had argued a verie short sight of things, and extreme fatuitie of minde in Mee, so to binde My own hands at their requeſt, if I had shortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God know's, though I had then a ſenſ of injuries yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favors, with the ſame candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumult indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonneſs; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

§ 6 Nor if I had juſtly reſented anie indignitie put upon Mee, or others, was I then in anie capacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike waie upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of people, that I could not have giv'n My enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Mee, then, by ſo unprincely Inconſtancie, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſettled by an Act of Parliament.

§ 7. God know's, *I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My manie condeſcendings.*

It had been a Court full of ſin, as well as of hazard and diſhonor for Mee to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If *ſom men* had not feared where no fear was, whoſe *ſecuritie conſiſted in ſcaring others.*

§ 8. I thank God, I know ſo well the ſinceritie and

bu[illegible]d uprightneſs of My own heart, in paſſing that
eſt[illegible]eat *Bill*, which exceeded the verie thoughts of for-
for[illegible]er times, That although I may ſeem leſs a Politici-
ſſe[illegible]n to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſi-
ht [illegible]ons before God. Nor had I anie reſervations in My
o f[illegible]wn Soul, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till
ha[illegible] ſaw that My letting *ſom men* go up to the Pinnacle
em[illegible]f the Temple was a temptation to them to caſt Mee
rie[illegible]own head long; concluding, that, without a M ra-
g b[illegible]le, Monarchie it ſelf, together with Mee, could not
i[illegible]ut bee daſhed in pieces by ſuch a precipitious fall as
am[illegible]ey intended. Whom God in Mercie forgive, and
ul[illegible]ake them ſee at length, That *as manie Kingdoms as*
the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them,
if they could bee at once enjoied by them) *are not*
worth the gaining by waies of ſinful ingratitude and
dishonor, which hazard's a ſoul worth more worlds,
then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Mee, and made
Mee to ſee, That *it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to*
their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelvs,
or abuſe the overmuch goodneſs of others, whereof an
ingrateful Surfeit is the moſt deſperate and incu-
rable diſeaſ.

§ 9. I cannot ſaie properly that I repent of that
fact, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a ſin of
My will, though an error of too charitable a judg-
ment: Onely I am ſorrie other men's eies ſhould
ſee evil, becauſ Mine were good.

To Thee, O My God, do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-
diſcerning Juſtice ſee's through all the diſguiſes of men's
pretenſions, and deceitful darkneſſes of their hearts.
Thou gaveſt Mee a heart to grant much to My
Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer
much from ſom of them.
Thy will bee don, though never ſo much to the
croſſing of our's, even when wee hope to do what might
be moſt conformable to Thine and their's too, who
miſtaked they aimed at nothing elſ.

Let

Let Thy grace teach Mee wisely to enjoie as we
the frustrations, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, an
most specious desires.

I see, while I thought to allaie other's fears, I hav
raised Mine own; and, by settling them, have un
settled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, an
hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, bee Thou My Pilot in this dark and dan
gerous storm, which neither admit's My return to th
Port whence I set out, nor My making anie othe
with that safetie and honor which I designed.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep Mee safe in the love an
confidence of My People; nor is it hard for Thee
preserv Mee amid'st the unjust hatred and jealousies
too manie, which Thou hast suffered so far to prev
upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuse My Af
of greatest Indulgence to them and assurance of the

But no Favors from Mee can make others mo
guiltie, then My self may bee of mis-using tho
manie and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast co
ferred on Mee.

I beseech Thee, give Mee and them such Repentanc
as Thou wilt accept; and such Grace, as wee ma
not abuse.

Make Mee so far happie, as to make a right use
other's abuses, and by their failings of Mee, to refle
with a reforming displeasure upon My offenses again
Thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other men's si
deprived of Thy temporal blessings; yet I may bee ha
pie to enjoie the comfort of Thy Mercies, which of
raise the greatest sufferers to bee the most glorious Sain

6. *Upon His Majestie's retirement fro*
Westminster.

With what unwillingness I with-drew fro
Westminster let them judg, who, unprovid

of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a ſtorm: yet better do ſo, then venture ſpliting or ſinking on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtaied at *White-Hall*, till I was driv'n awaie by ſhame more then fear to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand anie thing, and not leav either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the libertie of our Reaſon and Conſcience to denie them anie thing.

§ 2. Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, though chiefly Mine. For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the *Major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom: Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or Reaſon concluſive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God; with My juſt Rights, as a King; and the general good of My People. I ſee that, *as manie men, they are ſeldom of one minde*; *and*, I may oft ſee, that, *the Major part of them are not in the right.*

§ 3. I had formerly declared, to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agree'd to ſo manie *Bills*, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all, if *Som Men's* hydropick inſatiableneſs had not learned to thirſt the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Roial bountie was able to overcom; reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

§ 4. Sure *it ceaſe's to bee Counſel, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men, to perſwade; but Force and terror, as to beaſts, to drive and compel men to aſſent to whatever tumultuarie patrons ſhall project. Hee deſerv's not to be a ſlave without pitie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereignitie of his Soul, and Law of his Will and words ſo captivated.*

Nor

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable to preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedo which cannot bee denied Mee as a King; becaus belong's to Mee as a Man, and a Christian; owning t Dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as o liging Mee to consent. *Better for Mee to die enjo ing this Empire of My Soul, which subjects M onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion Hee d rects Mee, then live with the title of a King, if should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suf Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I de elare, as a King, to like, or dislike.*

§ 5. So far am I from thinking the Majestie the Crown of *England* to bee bound by anie Co nation-Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, consent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament* sha require, as *som men* will needs infer; while, den ing Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, th are not ashamed to seek to deprive Mee of the libe tie of using My Reason with a good Conscienc which themselvs, and all the Commons of *Engla* enjoie proportionably to their influence on the Pu lick; who would take it verie ill to bee urged, n to denie, whatever My self, as King, or the Hous Peers with Mee, should not so much enjoin, as d sire them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharg in that point by My Governing onely by such Law as My People, with the Hous of Peers, have chos and My self have consented to. I shall never thi My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against M Conscience, as I should consent to such new Propo sals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Rel gion, bid's Mee denie.

§ 6. Yet so tender I see *som men* are of their be ing subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, t Law of another's will, to which themselvs give consent) that they care not with how much dishon and absurditie they make their King the onely m that must bee subject to the will of others, witho

havi

having power left Him to use His own Reason, either
in Person, or by anie Representation.

§ 7. And if My dissentings, at anie time, were
(as som have suspected and uncharitably avowed)
but of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilful-
ness, and what they call Obstinacie in Mee, which
not true Judgment of things, but som vehement pre-
judice or passion hath fixed on My minde; yet can
no man think it other then the Badg and Method of
slaverie, by savage rudeness, and importunate ob-
trusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error
and passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason,
and must serv those that are destitute of the sub-
stance. Sure *that man cannot bee blameable to God*
or Man, who seriously endevour's to see the best Rea-
son of things, and faithfully follow's what hee take's
for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will
excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a
Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no
fault in him to steer his cours by such stars as do best
appear to him. It argue's those men to bee consci-
ous of their defects of Reason and convincing Argu-
ments, who call in the assistance of meer force to car-
ie on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals.
I may, in the truth and uprightness of My Heart,
protest, before God and Men, that I never wilfully,
opposed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie,
after full and free debates, propounded to Mee by
the two Houses; further then I thought, in good rea-
son, I might, and was bound to do.

§ 8. Nor did anie thing ever plead Mee more,
then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs,
that I might, with a good Conscience, consent to
them: yea, in manie things, where not absolute and
moral necessitie of Reason, but temporarie conveni-
ence in point of Honor was to bee considered, I chose
rather to denie My self, then them: as preferring
that which they thought necessarie for My People's
good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can bee content to recede much from My own Interests and Personal Rights, of which I conceiv My self to bee Master; but in what concern Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preserv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fixt and resolute; nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in stead of Reason and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the interest of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wills and Passions.

§ 9. I know *no resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.*

O My God, preserv Thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is Thy will that wee should maintein: who, though Thou do'st not justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to Thine, whose Wisdom and Goodness can neither err, nor misguid us; and so far to deny our carnal reason, in order to Thy Sacred Mysteries and Command, *that* wee should believ and obeie rather then dispute them; *yet do'st Thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of Thee, as not to ask thing for Thee against our Consciences; and as the desires of men, enjoinest us to trie all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgments approve.*

Th

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which Thou hast set Mee, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call Mee.

My People can witness how far I have been consent, for their good, to denie My self in what Thou hast subjected to My disposal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of Som Men's immoderate demands ever betraie Mee to that degenerous and unmanlie sliverie, which should make Mee strengthen them by My consent in those things, which I think in My Conscience to bee against Thy Glorie, the Good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own Dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make Mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they pres upon Mee, rather then commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of My People bee (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal waies without the sliverie of My soul.

Thou that hast invested Mee by Thy favors in the power of a Christian King, suffer Mee not to subject My Reason to other men's passions and designs, which to Mee seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve Thee in the truth and uprightness of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I bee driven from among them, yet give Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before Thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Justice; for these, I know, will bring Mee at last to Peace and Happiness with Thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of Thee for My Saviour's sake.

7. *Upon the Queen's departure and absence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſ to bee troubled at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſitie, which drive's Her away doth afflict Mee; That Shee ſhould bee compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafetie: This beeing the firſt example of anie Proteſtant-Subjects that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: for I look upon this now don in *England* as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant-Profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein Wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I praie, Hee would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practices to bee anie obſtruction to Her judgment; ſince it is the motion of *thoſe men*, who, for the moſt part, are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Manners; and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants, who continue firm to their former ſettled Principles and Laws.

§ 2. I am ſorrie My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady ſhould bee anie occaſion of Her danger and affliction, whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſs and barbaritie know's not ſo perfectly to hate all virtue as *ſome men* ſubtiltie doth; among whom I will think few are ſo malitious as to hate Her for Herſelf. *The fault is, that Shee is My Wife.*

§ 3. A

§ 3. All Justice then, as well as affection, command's Mee to studie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to bee tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so that Shee may bee in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoie by Her safetie in the midst of My Personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved: In whose memorie and hopeful Posteritie I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should bee satiated with My blood.

I must leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loialtie of My good Subjects; and to His protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries don to Them by those, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

§ 4. But *common Civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loialtie. Nor can it bee safe for anie Relation to a King to tarrie among them, who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretens of laying faster hold on their Religion.*

'Tis pitie so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer the rudeness of those, who must make up their want of justice with inhumanitie and impudence.

§ 5. Her sympathie with Mee, in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

§ 6. Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindeness of the Generalitie and Vulgar; for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who, having eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have stomfully lift up themselvs against Us; and those of Our own Household are becom Our enemies.

I praie God laie not their sin to their charge; who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie by their *Corban* of Religion; and can less indure to see, then to sin against their Benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

§ 7. But even that policie of My enemies is so fa venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: lest by the influence of Her example, eminent for love as a Wife and Loialtie as a Subject, Shee should have converted, or retained in their love and Loialtie all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may bee blessed with her companie, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoyment of Her virtues, while I enjoie My self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scourge us, let Thy Mercie, in Thy due time, re-unite us on earth, if it bee Thy will; however bring us both at last to Thy heavenlie Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadlie enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for Thy presence.

Though Wee differ in some things, as to Religion (which is My greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to imbrace everie truth of Thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of Thy self and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what Thou would'st have us to know, in order to Thy Glorie, our publick Relations, and our soul's eternal Good, and make us careful to do what good Wee know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to bee known, nor unbeliefe, or disobedience to what Wee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful defaule.

Le

Let not this great scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Mee, bee anie hinderance to Her love of anie truth Thou would'st have Her to learn, nor anie hard'ning of Her in anie error Thou would'st have cleared to Her.

Let Mine, and other men's ignorancie bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion, I profess, bee represented to Her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loialtie, Charitie, and Peaceableness, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it; Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Novelitie, Crueltie, and Disloialtie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let Her see Thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that Shee may believ, love, and obeie them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of Thy Truth Shee may see Thee, in those Mercies which Thou hast offered to us, in Thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serv Thee in all these Holie duties, which must agree with His Holie doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie, and greatness in our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make Us both so much the more ambitious to bee invested in those durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in Thy self, and obteined through Jesus Christ.

8. *Upon his Majestie's repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloialtie, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it. It was the first overt Essaie to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loss of My Kingdoms.

God know's, it affected Mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee so much as their sin, which admitted no color of excuse.

§ 2. I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I foresaw they could hardly contein themselvs within the compass of this one unworthie act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to over-spread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloial undertakers, *That bad attems must alwais bee seconded with worse*; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault; and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of *some men*, whose words were sometimes smoother then oil; but now I saw they would prove verie Swords.

Against which, I, having as yet no defens, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie, with patience to bear what I could not remedie: And in this, I thank God, I had the better of *Horsam*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do, or saie anie thing unbeseeming My self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becom's a Christian, as coming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, *I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King*; for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the Charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the Hight of a King temp-teth to revenge, the Humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions,

passions, whose excess injure's a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

§ 3. I cannot but observ how God not long after so pleaded and avenged My caus, in the eie of the world, that the most wilfully-blinde canpot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with som remors and fear to own it as a notable stroke and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreat'ned, uncurs'ed by anie language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the Conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their disloialtie, to those men, from whom surely hee might have exspected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who emploied them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercie enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For *Apostasie into Loialtie som men account the most unpardonable sin.*

Nor did a solitarie vengeance serv the turn; the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Commonweal. The eldest Son must bee involved in the punishment, as hee was infected with the sin of the Father against the Father of his Countrie: Root and branch God cut's off in one daie.

§ 4. These observations are obvious to everie phancie: God know's I was so far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, seeing executed by them who first emploied him against Mee) that I so far pitied him as I thought

bee at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope manie other men do in the same Cause.

For hee was never thought to bee of that superstitious sowrness, which *som men* pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darken's their judgment that they cannot see anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models of what they call Religion; who think all is gold of Pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and Fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of Ambition, which have no cloak of cheat of Religion to impose upon themselvs or others.

§ 5. That which make's Mee more pitie him, is that, after hee began to have som inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee should bee so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For *I think Clemencie a debt, which wee ought to pay to those that crave it, when wee have cause to believ they would not after abuse it*; since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for His Mercie but onely praiers and praises.

§ 6. Poor Gentleman! hee is now becom a notable monument of unprosperous Disloialtie; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle that *the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carrie's alwaies its own vengeance, as an inseparable shadow with it*; and those oft prove the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

§ 7. After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* was more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*, though 'tis certain that *no punishment so stain's*

man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But Thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a waie avenged Thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie secret pleasure in it; for as his death hath satisfied the injurie hee did to Mee, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make Thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against Thee.

Thou indeed, without anie desire or endevour of Mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to com down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded My Cause even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into Thine own hands; that men may know it was Thy work, and see that Thou, Lord, hast don it.

I do not, I dare not saie, So let Mine enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it bee Thy blessed will.

Let not Thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended Mee in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offenses to those trespasses against Thy Majestie, which, I hope, Thy Mercie hath forgiv'n Mee.

Lord lais not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their Consciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunder-bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, bee a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have don amiss; and scare them from their sin, that sin of malitious wickedness.

That, preventing Thy judgments by their true repentance,

pentance, they may escape the strokes of Thine eternal vengeance.

And do Thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of Thy Servant in Mercie and Truth, meeting together; let My Crown ever flourish in righteousnes and peace kissing each other.

Hear My praier, O Lord, who hast taught me to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for Thy sake; who hast prevented us with effectuous Thy love, even when wee were Thine enemies; and hast sent Thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when wee were disposed to crucifie Him.

9. Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the KING.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Mee to leav *White-Hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may bee conquered.

And so I easily may as to anie outward strength which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee such a measure of Constancie, as to fear Him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

§ 2. And must I bee opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; *They confess their known weakness, as to Truth and Justice, when they choos rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.*

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those manie *Acts of Grace* I have lately passed, and for those manie Indignities I have endured?

the

there no waie left to make Mee a *glorious King*, but by My sufferings?

§ 3. It is *a hard and disputable choise for a King that love's his People, and desire's their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them.*

§ 4. Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? Notwithstanding som miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of *som men* driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the Publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie, I hope, of My self, either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousness? What Widow's or Orphan's teares can witness against Mee, the just crie of which must now bee avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of war are equal; nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so manie hands are armed against Mee with Swords.

§ 5. God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alleged for this War against Mee; that so I might, by giving just satisfaction, either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which to manie men seem's rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily kindle, or make causes of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Privilege.

But this is pretended, and this I must bee able to avoid

avoid and answer before God in My own Con-
science, however *som men* are not willing to belie-
Mee, lest they should condemn themselvs.

§ 6. When I first with-drew from *White-Hall*, t
see if I could allaie the insolencie of the Tumults, c
the not suppressing of which no account in Reaso
can bee giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted
but onely to oppress both Mine and the Two Hous
freedom of Declaring and Voting according to ever
man's Conscience; what obstructions of Justic
were there further then this, that what seemed just t
one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justic
of *Parliament*?

§ 7. That som men with-drew, who feared th
partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord o
Strafford's death) while the vulgar threat'ned to b
their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, w
from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preser
themselvs. If anie others refused to appear, whe
they evidently saw the current of Justice and Fre
dom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, th
their lawful Judges either durst not com to th
Houses, or not declare their sens with libertie an
safetie, it cannot seem strange to anie reasonable ma
when the sole exposing them to the publick *Odiu*
was enough to ruine them, before their Caus cou
bee heard or tried.

§ 8. Had not factious Tumults overborn th
Freedom and Honor of the two Houses; had the
asserted their Justice against them, and made the wa
open for all the Members quietly to com and decla
their Consciences, I know no man so dear to Me
whom I had the least inclination to advise either t
withdraw himself, or denie appearing, upon thei
Summons; to whose Sentence according to Law I
think everie Subject bound to stand.

§ 9. Distempers, indeed, were risen to so great
hight, for want of timelie repressing the vulgar inso-
lencie

lencies, that the *greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselvs to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons*; nor compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men, who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautiousnes; further then this I did never allow anie man's refractorinesse against the Privileges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safetie, Fulnes, and Freedom.

§ 10. But the truth is, *som men*, and those not manie, despairing, in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselvs by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to bee of contrarie mindes to their purposes.

§ 11. How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Hous of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselvs.

§ 12. In like manner was the *Bill* against *Root and Branch* brought on by tumultuarie Clamors, and schismatical Terrors; which could never pass, til both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, My Conscience forbid's Mee by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now bee urged with an Armie, and constreined either to hazzard My Own, and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defens; or prostrate My Conscience

ſtience to the blinde obedience of *thoſe men*, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition think's or pretend's, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroie that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently-Universal Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other men's Judgments binde them to maintein, or forbid them to conſent to the aboliſhing of, Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in My Judgment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent bee betraied, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſerie, then anie hath, or can befall Mee; inaſmuch as *the leaſt ſin hath more evil in it then the greateſt affliction*. Had I gratified their Anti-Epiſcopal Faction at firſt, in this point, with My Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government and Revenues to the furie of their Covetouſneſs, Ambition, and Revenge, I believ they would then have found no colorable neceſſitie of raiſing an Armie to fetch in and puniſh Delinquents.

§ 13. That I conſented to the *Bill* of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſ of Peers, was don with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honor, for My ſake, and the Common-weal's; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) anie dangers to Mee, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My Conſent to the total Extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all ſafe regulations) hath ſo much further Tie upon My Conſcience, as *what I think Religious and Apoſtolical, and ſo verie Sacred and Divine, is not to bee diſpenſed with, or deſtroied*; when what is onely of civil Favor and Privilege of Honor granted to men of that Order,

Order, may, with their consent, who are concerned in it, bee annulled.

§ 14. This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to bee in point of Justice and Autoritie of Parliament; when, I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War; beeing onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other men's Consciences.

§ 15. Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or other's withdrawing from, or defens against violence; but those could not bee the first occasion of raising an Armie against Mee. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and God Mee with all the envie and injuries of first assaulting them, when as, God know's, I had not so much as anie hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and effectually repressed by exemplarie Justice, and the Libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have com'n and discharged their Consciences, I had obteined all that I designed by My withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this beeing My cheefitie driving, the other My Choise desiring.

But *som men* knew I was like to bring the same judgment and constancie, which I carried with Mee, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Mee to com, & grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but bee pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armie to fetch in *Delinquents*: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable *Delinquencie* of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My self, and

and so manie of both Houses from their places, h
most barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reas
and Honor, they were as loth to have deserted,
those others were willing they should, that so th
might have occasion to persecute them with the inj
ries of an *Armie*, for not suffering more tamely
injuries of the *Tumults*.

§ 16. That this is the true state, and first drift
design in raising an Armie against Mee, is by the
quel so evident, that all other pretenses vanish. F
when they declared, by Propositions or Treaties, w
they would have to appeas them, there was nothi
of consequence offered to Mee, or demanded of M
as anie original difference in anie point of Law,
order of Justice. But, among other lesser Innovatio
this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of *Episco*
and the Establishment of *Presbyterian* Governme

§ 17. All other things, at anie time propound
were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a W
or easily granted by Mee; and onely to make u
number; or else they were meerly consequential,
accessorie, after the war was by them unjustly beg

§ 18. I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, wh
the noise and shew of Pietie, and heat for Refor
tion and Religion, might easily so fill with preju
that all equalitie and clearness of judgment mi
bee obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My
observation, the true state of affairs between us,
they first raised an armie, with this design, either
stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in
truth, as to My Conscience, (who was, God kno
as far from meditating a War, as I was in the el
the world from having anie preparations for o
I finde that comfort, that, in the mid'st of all
unfortunate successes of this War on My side, I
not think My Innocencie anie whit prejudice
darkned; Nor am I without that Integritie,
Peace before God, as with humble confidence
address My Praier to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the
loudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without
rejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guide's Thy un-
erable Judgment.

O My God, the proud are risen against Mee, and
the assemblies of violent men have sought after My
ul, and have not set Thee before their eies.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and
hey hate Mee with a deadlie hatred without a caus.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or pre-
ration to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War;
hereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must
dventure more then anie, and could gain least of
ie by it.

Thou, O Lord, art My witness, how oft I have de-
lored, and studied to divert the necessitie thereof,
herein I cannot well bee thought so prodigally thir-
ie of My Subject's blood, as to venture My own
ise, Which I have been oft compelled to do in this un-
ppie War; and which were better spent to save, then
destroie My People.

O Lord, I need much of Thy Grace with patience to
r the manie afflictions thou hast suffered som men
bring upon Mee; but much more to bear the unjust
proaches of those, who, not content that I suffer most
the War, will needs perswade the world that I have
sed first, or giv'n just Caus to rais it.

The Confidence of som men's false Tongues is such,
at they would almost make Mee suspect My
n Innocencie: Yea, I could bee content (at least
My silence) to take upon Mee so great a guilt be-
re men, if by that I might allaie the malice of My
emies, and redeem My People from this miserable
r; since Thou, O Lord, knowe'st My Innocencie in
lsthing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; manie
whom have not lived out half their daies, in which
y promised themselvs the enjoiment of the fruits of
r violence and wicked Counsels.

Save

Save, O Lord, Thy Servant, as hitherto Thou ha
and in Thy due time ſcatter the People that delig
in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up Thy ſelf, becauſe of the re
5 *of Mine Enemies, which increaſeth more and mo*
Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travell
with iniquitie, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, eit
to deſtroie My Perſon, or force My Judgment, or
10 *make Mee renege My Conſcience and Thy Truth.*

I am driv'n to croſs David's *choiſ: and deſire*
ther to fall into the hands of men, by denying th
though their Mercies bee cruel; then into Thy han
by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that ag
15 *Thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they Deſtr*
Mee, then Thou ſhoulds't Damn Mee.

Bee Thou ever the defens of My Soul, who wilt ſ
the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will ſatisfie My Enem
20 *or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or Thy Tem*
ral Juſtice, I am content, if it bee Thy will, that
bee ſhed by Mine own Subjects hands.

Eut, O let the blood of Mee, though their K
yet a ſinner, bee waſhed with the blood of My Inno
25 *and Peace-making Redeemer; for in that Thy Juſt*
will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an e
nal-planarie ſatisfaction, both for My ſins, and
ſins of My People: whom I beſeech Thee ſtill own
Thine; and, when thy wrath is appeaſed by My De
30 *O Remember Thy great Mercies toward them,*
forgive them, O My Father, for they know not
they do.

---

35 10. *Upon their ſeizing the King's M*
gazines, Forts, Navie, and Militi

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt rai
of an Armie and begining this Civil war

es, that onely pitie Mee, and the Loial hearts that
urst onely praie for Mee at first, might witness,
hich yet appear not so manie on My side, as there
ere men in Arms listed against Mee. *My unprepa-*
redness for a war may well dishearten those that
ould help Mee; while it argue's, truly, My un-
illingness to fight, yet it *testifie's for Mee, that I*
m set on the defensive part; having so little hopes
power to offend others, that I have none to de-
nd My self, or to preserv what is Mine own from
eir prereption.

§ 2. No man can doubt but they prevented Mee
their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are
much before-hand in their preparation against
ee, and surprizals of My strength. Such as are not
r Them, yet dare not bee for Mee; so over-aw'd
their Loialtie by the other's numbers and terrors.
believ My Innocencie, and unpreparedness to as-
rt My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more
ultie in their esteem; who would not so easily have
clared a War against Mee, if I had first assaulted
em.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Mee, were
ose onely, which the Antient Christians were wont
use against their Persecutors, *Praiers* and *Tears*.
ese may serv a good man's turn, if not to conquer
a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

§ 3. Their preventing of Mee, and surprizing My
ities, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*,
so far best for Mee, That it may drive Mee from
ting anie trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to
My self into the protection of the living God,
o can save by few, or none, as well as by manie.
Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee *Elias's*
terers, and bring him food; may also make their
rprizal of outward force and defens an opportuni-
to shew Mee the special support of his power
protection.

§ 4. I thank God I reckon not now the want
of

of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own pr
tection as My People's.

Their manie and sore oppressions griev Mee; I
above My own; *What I want in the hands of Fo*
and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Pra

§ 5. But this is the strange method *these men* w
needs take to resolv their *Riddle* of Making Mee
glorious King, by taking away My Kingly powe
Thus I shall becom a support to My Friends, and
Terror to My Enemies, beeing unable to succo
the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to M
the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship,
without anie realitie of power, so without a
necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the M
jestie of the Kings of *England* might hereaf
hang like *Mahomet*'s Tomb, by a Magnetick Char
between the Power and Privileges of the T
Houses, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

§ 6. But I believ the surfeit of two much Pow
which *som men* have greedily seized on, and n
seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make
Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since th
cannot well digest it; *Sovereign Power in Subj*
seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subje

§ 7. Yet I have even in this point of the consti
Militia sought, by satisfying their fears and imp
tunities, both to secure My friends, and overc
Mine enemies, to gain the Peace of all, by depriv
My self of a sole power to help, or hurt an
yielding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Ri
no less then the Crown) to bee disposed of
two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them
Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, a
My self. I desire not to bee safer then I wish th
and My People. If I had the sole actual disposa
the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, fur
then they protected Mee, and themselvs: so that

ſe of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to bee able to defend My good ſubjects from thoſe men's violence and fraud, who, conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee truſted with the cuſtodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My ſubjects, ſince power hath been wreſted from Mee, and employed againſt Mee and them, that neither can bee ſafe, if both bee not in ſuch a waie, as the Law hath entruſted the publick ſafetie and welfare.

§ 8. Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine, as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactorie to *ſom men*, which ſeem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are reſolved to tranſmit to Poſteritie ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoie its juſt and neceſſarie Rights, in point of Power; to which, at laſt, all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

§ 9. But here Honor and Juſtice, due to My Succeſſors, forbid Mee to yield to ſuch a total alienation of that power from them, which Civilitie and Dutie (no leſs then Juſtice and Honor) ſhould have forbad them to have aſked of Mee.

For although I can bee content to Eclipſ My own beams to ſatiſfie their fears, who think they muſt needs bee ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kinglie Power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Mee; yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Sovereignitie to all Poſteritie and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recoverie of their Rights, from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never bee prejudiced or obſtructed by the Act of Mine, which indeed would not bee more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to My Subjects, from whom I deſire to leav in a condition not wholly inoperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to bee ever ſubjected to thoſe manie factious diſtractions, which muſt

must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of C
vernment: which, as it make's a shew to the p
ple to have more eies to foresee; so they will find
it hath more mouths too, which must bee satisfi
and at best hath rather a monstrositie, then anie th
of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: wh
Counsel may bee in manie, as the senses; but the S
preme Power can bee but in One, as the Head.

§ 10. Haply when men have tried the horr
and malignant influence which will certainly foll
My enforced darkness and Eclipse (occasioned by
interposition and shadow of that bodie, which as
Moon receiveth it's chiefest light from Mee) th
will at length more esteem and welcom the resto
glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

§ 11. And if at present I may seem by My re
ding so much from the use of My Right in the Po
of the *Militia* to com short of the discharge of t
trust, to which I am sworn for My People's protec
on; I conceiv *those men* are guiltie of the enforc
perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel Mee
take this new and strange waie of discharging
trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My S
jects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor,
their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil War and ad
tages of power cannot bee effected but by forc
yielding; to which the greatest love of the Pub
Peace, and the yielding; to which the firmest a
rance of God's protection (arising from a go
conscience) doth more invite Mee, then can bee
spected from other men's fears; which, arising fr
the injustice of their actions, though never so
cessful, yet dare not adventure their Autors u
anie other waie of safetie, then that of the Sw
and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defenses aga
the strokes of Divine vengrance, which will o
take; or of men's own Consciences, which alw
attend injurious perpetrations.

§ 12.

§ 12. For My self, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to take from Mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whose protection is sufficient for Mee; and hee is able, by his beeing with Mee, abundantly to compensate to Mee, as hee did to *Job*, whatever honor, power, or libertie the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive Mee of.

§ 13. Although they take from Mee all defens of Arms and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castels; all flight by Sea, in My Ships and Navy; yea, though they studie to rob Mee of the *Hearts of My Subjects*, the *greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King*; yet cannot they deprive Mee of My own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor obstruct My waie to Heaven.

Therefore, O My God, to Thee I flie for help; if Thou wilt bee on My side, I shall have more with Mee than can bee against Mee.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of Thee: In the last of all, bee Thou unto them all to Mee: Make haste to succour Mee, Thou that never failest them that put their trust in Thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that rise against Mee, who are encouraged to fight under the pretens of fighting for Mee: But My eies are towards Thee.

Thou needest no help; nor shall I, if I may have Thee; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If Thou delightest not in My safetie and prosperitie, behold, here I am, willing to bee reduced to what Thou wilt have Mee; whose Judgments oft begin with Thine own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that Thou may'st bee all. Thou hast taught Mee, that no King can bee saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet Thou can'st save

Mee by the multitude of Thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Mee, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side; yet bee Thou on My side, and I shall not feare what man can do unto Mee.

I will give Thy Justice the Glorie of My Distress. O Let Thy Mercie have the Glorie of My deliverance from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against Thee, and robbed Thee of Thy Glorie, who am Thy Subject; and justlie mai'st Thou, by My own subjects, strip Mee of My strength, and eclipse My Glorie.

But shew Thy self, O My hope, and onely refuge. Let not Mine enemies saie, There is no help for Him in His God.

Hold up My goings in Thy paths, that My feet steps slip not.

Keep Mee as the apple of Thine eie, hide Mee under the shadow of Thy wings.

Shew Thy marvellous loving kindeness, O Thou that savest by Thy right hand them that put their trust in Thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppress Mee, from My deadlie enemies that compass Mee about.

Shew Mee the path of life. In Thy presence is fulnesse of joie; at Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

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11. *Upon the Nineteen Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there bee manie things, they demand, yet, if these bee all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with My Conscience and

Hon-

onor. If nothing elſ will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe
ther to bee as miſerable and inglorious, as My ene-
ies can make, or wiſh Mee.

Som things here propounded to Mee, have been
fered by Mee; Others are eaſily granted; the reſt,
think, ought not to bee obtruded upon Mee with
e point of the Sword, nor urged with the injuries
a War. When I have alreadie declared that I can-
yield to them, without violating My Conſcience;
ſtrange, there can bee no method of peace, but by
king war upon My ſoul.

§ 2. Here are manie things required of Mee; but
e nothing offer'd to Mee, by the waie of grateful
change of Honor, or anie requital for thoſe favors,
ave, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Mee, to put Mee on the gi-
g part, which is more Princelie and Divine. They
ot aſk more then I can give, may I but reſerv to
ſelf the Incommunicable Jewel of My Con-
nce, and not bee forced to part with that, whoſe
nothing can repair or requite.

§ 3. Som things, which they are pleaſed to pro-
nd, ſeem unreaſonable to Mee; and while I have
e Maſterie of My reaſon, how can they think I
conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as
inconſiſtent with beeing either a King, or a good
riſtian. My yielding ſo much, as I have alreadie,
ke's *ſom men* confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath, in-
d, great influence upon Mee; but the love of
th and inward Peace hath more.

ſhould I grant ſom things they require, I ſhould
t ſo much weaken My outward ſtate of a King, as
nd that inward quiet of My Conſcience; which
t to bee, is, and ever ſhall bee (by God's grace)
er to Mee then My Kingdoms.

§ 4. Som things which a King might approve, yet
onor and Policie are at ſom time to bee denied,
ſom men, leſt hee ſhould ſeem not to dare to denie

anie thing; and give too much encouragement
unreasonable demands or importunities: But
binde My self to a general and implicite consent,
whatever they shal desire, or propound, (for such
one of their Propositions) were such a latitude
blinde obedience, as never was exspected from a
Free-man; nor fit to bee required of anie man, mu
less of a King by his own Subjects: anie of who
hee may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as h
doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consent
not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off h
own hair, but to put out his own eies, that the *Ph*
stines might with the more safetie mock and abu
him; which they chose rather to do, then quite
destroie him, when hee was becom so tame an obje
and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

§ 5. Certainly, to exclude all power of deni
seem's an arrogancie, least of all becoming tho
who pretend to make their addresses in an humb
and loial waie of Petitioning; who by that suf
ciently confess their own inferioritie, which oblige
them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such
answer as the Will and Reason of their Super
think's fit to give; who is acknowledged to have
freedom and power of Reason to Consent, or Disse
elf it were verie fooliſh and absurd to ask, what a
other, having not libertie to denie, neither ha
power to grant.

§ 6. But if this bee My Right belonging to Mee,
Reason, as a Man; and in Honor, as a Sovereign Kin
(as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee other th
extreme injurie to confine My Reason to a necessi
of granting all they have a minde to ask? who
mindes may bee as differing from Mine both
Reason and Honor, as their aims may bee, and th
qualities are; which last God and the Laws ha
sufficiently distinguisht, making Mee their Sov
reign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositio
ma

may soon prove violent Oppositions, if once they
aim to bee necessarie Impositions upon the Regal
Antoritie. Since *no man seek's to limit and confine*
a King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share
with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

§ 7. But they would have Mee trust to their mode-
ration, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I
might verifie what representations *som* have made
of Mee to the world, that I am fitter to bee their
Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confi-
dent of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to ad-
mit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so dif-
fident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie
men's dictates, and at once to betraie the Sovereigntie
of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own
Crown to anie of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to
induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of *those*
men, who will not admit, or do refuse and neglect
to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's
voting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this, how
young States-men the most part of these propounde-
rs are; so that, till experience of one seven years
hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern them-
selves, and so much power as is wrested from Mee, I
should bee verie fooliish indeed, and unfaithful in
My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Go-
vernment, wholly out of My own, into their hands;
those driving is alreadie too much like *Jehu*'s; 30
of whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of
Supremacie portend's more of *Phaëton* then of
Elias: God divert the *Omen*, if it bee His will.
They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Par-
liament, as My *Subjects*, not My *Superiors*; called 35
to bee My *Counsellors*, not *Dictators*: Their Sum-
mons extend's to recommend their *Advice*, not to
command My *Dutie*.

§ 8. When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent

Mee, I exspected either ſom *good Laws*, which
been antiquated by the courſ of time, or overl
by the corruption of manners, had been deſired
reſtauration of their vigor and due execution;
ſom *evil cuſtoms preter-legal*, and *abuſes perſonal*
been to bee removed; or ſom *injuries* don by
ſelf and others to the Common-weal, were to
repaired; or ſom *equable offertures* were to
tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of
Crown, beeing conſidered by them, might fairly
duce Mee to condeſcend, to what tended to My S
ject's good, without anie great diminution of
ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bi
Mee (in the firſt place) to preſerv: without wh
'tis impoſſible to preſerv My People according
My Place:

Or, at leaſt, I looked for ſuch *moderate deſire*
due Reformation of what was indeed amiſs
Church and State, as might ſtill preſerv the foun
tion and eſſentials of Government in both;
ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, with
anie regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom
pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and
verſal practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rig
and Privileges of particular men; Nor yet
thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what m
bee deſtroied, which might at once reach the go
end of the other's Inſtitution, and alſo ſupplie
pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſo
and wiſe men; not with ſoft and ſpecious wor
pretending zeal and ſpecial pietie, but with pregn
and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, wh
might juſtifie the abruptneſs and neceſſitie of ſu
vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerv little
theſe kindes, or to theſe ends: Nothing of a
Laws diſ-jointed, which are to bee reſtored; of a
Right invaded; of anie *Juſtice* to bee un-obſtruct
of anie *Compenſations* to bee made; of anie *impar*
Reformati

Reformation to bee granted; to all, or anie of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or anie other humane motives might induce Mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly look'd upon as *Factions in the State*, and *Schisms in the Church*, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely *Tolerations* of themselvs, in their vanitie, noveltie, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

§9. This as to the main. Other Propositions are, for the most part, but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somwhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of som Propositions, there beeing nothing so monstrous, which som phancies are not prone to long for.

This cast's Mee into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the fortune to bee propounded in the name of the Two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Hous, whose judgments free, single and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church

I am perswaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mis-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations, or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Rea-

ſon, as yet produced to the contrarie, ſo ſoon renou
all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to
Pietie of their reforming Progenitors, to the Pr
ſperitie of former times in this Church and St
under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatalitie, theſe men ſuffer, eit
by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſup
credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is guild
with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their priv
diſſenting in Judgment to bee drawn into the co
mon ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and h
mor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment fr
thoſe popular clamors and Tumults, which ſerved
give life and ſtrength to the infinite Activitie
thoſe men, who ſtudied, with all diligence and p
licie, to improve, to their *Innovating deſigns*, t
preſent diſtractions.

§ 10. Such Armies of Propoſitions, having
little, in My judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and R
ligion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Fact
for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever bee back
and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Thou
the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon; y
the firſt ſhall never overcom Mee, further then I ſ
cauſe: for *I look not at their Number and Power*
much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Liveri
and once effectually redeemed themſelvs from t
Wardſhip of the Tumults; (which can bee no othe
then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow o
thoſe Men, who hunt after Factions, and private De
ſigns, to the ruine of Church and State) Did M
Judgment tell Mee, that the Propoſitions ſent t
Mee were the Reſults of the Major part of the
Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as the
have a right to ſit in Parliament, I ſhould the
ſuſpect My own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully
concurring with everie one of them:

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wi
m

nen among them; and humilitie to think, that, as n ſom things I may want, ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe heir advice, which is the end for which I called hem to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a completeneſs and inerrabilitie as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that Part o Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honor to preſerv, as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon oncurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is neeſſarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, r bring forth anie one complete and Autoritative Act of Publick wiſdom, which make's the Laws.

§ 11. But the unreaſonableneſs of ſom Propoſiions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That hey are not the joint and free deſires of thoſe in heir Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote n Parliament.

For manie of them favour verie ſtrong of that old even of *Innovations masked under the name of Reformation*; which, in My two laſt famous Predeeſſor's daies, heaved at, and ſomtimes threat'ned oth Prince and Parliaments; But, I am ſure, was ever wont ſo far to infect the whole maſs of the obilitie and Gentrie of this Kingdom, however it ifperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likelie ſo uddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as at they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo ormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and tate, contrarie to their former education, practice, nd judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choiſ of manie embers was carried by much faction in the Counies; ſom thirſting after nothing more, then a ſionate revenge of whatever diſpleaſure they had ceived againſt Mee, My Court, or the Clergie.

§ 12. But all Reaſon bid's Mee impute theſe ſudden d vaſt deſires of change to *thoſe few*, who armed emſelvs with the manie-headed and manie-handed mults,

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honor and Safetie both of Church and State command Mee to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down. If the ſtraitneſs of Conſcience will not give Mee leav to ſwallow down ſuch Camels of Sacrilege and Injuſtice both to God and man, as others do, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Mee, then for this, that My throat is not ſo wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am reſolved, That nothing of Paſſion, or Peeviſhneſs, or Liſt to contradict, or Vanitie to ſhew My Negative power, ſhall have anie biaſs upon My judgment, to make Mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thing which My Reaſon and Conſcience commands Mee not: Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor and Religion perſwade Mee, to bee for God's glorie, the Churche's good, My people's welfare, and My own peace.

§ 13. I will ſtudie to ſatisfie My Parliament and My People; but I will never, for fear, or flatterie gratifie anie Faction, how potent ſoever; for that were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſs the bodie.

Although manie men's Loialtie and Prudence are tertified from giving Mee that free and faithfull counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Mee from craving of the counſel of that mightie Counſellour who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline My heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O Thou firſt and eternal Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with omnipotence, furniſh Thy Servant, ſtrengthen with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice in My underſtanding: then ſo confirm My will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, oppreſſions of My Enemies may ever enforce Mee againſt thoſe rules, which Thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Mee a King, that I ſhould forget I am a man; and not dare to ſaie, Yea, or Nay

as I see cauſ; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon and libertie of ſpeech.

Shall that bee blameable in Mee, which is commendable veracitie and conſtancie in other's?

Thou ſee'ſt, O Lord, with what partialitie and injuſtice they denie that freedom to Mee their KING, which Thou haſt giv'n to all Men; and which Themſelvs pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelvs, while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their privileges.

To Thee I make My ſupplication, who can'ſt guide us by an unerring rule, thorough the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's propoſals; which, I have ſom cauſ to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that, by My granting, or denying them, I might bee more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Mee.

O Lord, make Thy waie plain before Mee.

Let not My own ſinful paſſions cloud or divert Thy ſacred ſuggeſtions:

Let Thy glorie bee My end; Thy word My rule; and Then Thy will bee don.

I cannot pleaſ all, I care not to pleaſ ſom men; If I may bee happie to pleaſ Thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſ.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſs, and takeſt in their own devices ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make Mee wiſe by Thy truth, for Thy honor, My Kingdom's general good, and My own ſoul's ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the world's opinion, or diminution of Mee.

The leſs wiſdom they are willing to impute to Mee, the more they ſhall bee convinced of Thy wiſdom diſpoſing Mee, while I denie nothing fit to bee granted, out of croſſneſs, or humor; nor grant anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie fear, or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconſiderate advancing anie men's deſigns, which are injurious to the Publick good, while I confirm them by My conſent.

Nor

Nor let Mee bee anie occasion to hinder or defra
the publick of what is best, by anie morose, or pe
dissentings.

Make Mee so humbly charitable, as to follow the
advice, when it appear's to bee for the Publick Good
of whose affections to Mee I have yet but few evidence
to assure Mee.

Thou can'st as well bless honest errors, as bla
fraudulent counsels.

Since wee must give an account of everie evil an
idle word in private at Thy Tribunal; Lord ma
Mee careful of those solemn Declarations of My mind
which are like to have the greatest influence upon th
Publick, either for woe, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make Mee
the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My people's pressures a
grievous, and peace would bee verie pleasing; ye
Lord, never suffer Mee to avoid the one, or purcha
the other, with the least expense or waste of My Con
science; whereof Thou, O Lord, onely art deserved
more Master then Myself.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and
so violent, that it was hard at first either to dis
cern the rise, or applie a remedie to that precipitat
Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there bee
cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drow
anie man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom
God shall finde the malitious Autor or Instigator o
its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to som
men's malice against Mee; that, when they had im
pudence

udence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this
loodie opportunitie ſhould bee offered them, with
hich I muſt bee aſſperſed: Although there was
othing which could bee more abhorred to Mee,
eeing ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloialtie to My
lf, and deſtructive to My Subjects.

§ 2. *Som men* took it verie ill not to bee be-
ieved, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Re-
els did, was don with My privitie at leaſt, if not by
y Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is
o news for *ſom* of My Subjects to fight, not onely
ithout My Commiſſion, but againſt My Command
d Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they
ght by My Autoritie, and for My Safetie.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to allege
r their imitation, againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt
eeds bee the greater, by how much Proteſtant-
rinciples are more againſt all Rebellion againſt
rinces, then thoſe of Papiſts. *Nor will the goodneſs
men's intentions excuſe the ſcandal and contagion
their Examples.*

§ 3. But, whoever fail of their Dutie toward Mee,
muſt bear the blame; this *Honor My Enemies have
waies don Mee, to think moderate injuries not paſſionate to Mee, nor competent trials either of My
ſuience under them, or My pardon of them.*

Therefore, with exquiſite malice, they have
ixed the gall and vinegar of falſitie and contempt,
ith the cup of My Affliction; Charging Mee not
ely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the
reateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonor by what is com-
itted; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Reli-
ion, having leaſt cauſ to give the leaſt conſent, and
oſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might bee re-
reſented by them to the world the more inhumane
d barbarous; Like ſom *Cyclopick monſter*, whom
othing will ſerv to eat and drink, but the fleſh and
lood of My own Subjects; in whoſe common wel-
e My intereſt lie's as much as *ſom men's* doth in
their

their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor so cunningly as in laying the *Odium* of those sad events on other's, wherewith themselvs are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

§ 4. And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wise men, that the *prepostorous rigor* and *unreasonable servitie*, which *som men* carried before them in *England* was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontents which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, *despair* beeing added to the former discontents, and the *fears of utter extirpation* to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the natural desire of libertie; both to exempt themselvs from their present restraints, and to prevent those after-rigors wherewith they saw themselvs apparently threat'ned by the *covetous Zeal*, and *uncharitable furie* of *Some men*, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

§ 5. God know's, as *I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion*, so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered *in Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing elſ, have quenched, or at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England som men* most industriously scattered.

§ 6. I would to God no man had been less affected with *Ireland*'s sad estate then My self; I offered to go My self in Person upon that expedition; But

som

ſom men were either afraid I ſhould have anie one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to ſhoot at anie mark here leſs then My ſelf; or that anie ſhould have the glorie of My deſtruction, but themſelvs. Had My manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the *ruine* had been ſo great; nor the *calamitie* ſo long; nor the *remedie* ſo deſperate.

§ 7. So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, their's muſt needs bee, who either hindered the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threat'ning all extremities, not onely to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to *deſtroie Root and Branch*, men, women, and children, without anie regard to thoſe uſual pleas for mercie, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which *prepoſterous*, and (I think) *unevangelical Zeal* is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower, in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſ or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob*'s ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſom with exemplarie Juſtice, yet diſ-arm others with tenders of Mercie upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from the furie of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the Popular ſtream with them.

But ſom kinde of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſs; and had rather bee cruel, then counted

counted cold; and is not seldom more greedie to [illegible] *the Bear for his skin, then for anie harm hee hath d*[illegible] The confiscation of men's Estates beeing more be[illegible] ficial, then the charitie of saving their Lives, or [illegible] forming their Errors.

§ 8. When all proportionable succours of t[illegible] poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily mas[illegible] cred and overborn with numbers of now-desper[illegible] Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here, I w[illegible] earnestly entreated and generally advised, by t[illegible] chief of the Protestant-Partie there, to get the[illegible] som respite and breathing by a *Cessation*; witho[illegible] which they saw no probabilitie (unless by miracle) [illegible] preserv the remnant that had yet escaped: Go[illegible] know's with how much Commiseration and solic[illegible] tous Caution I carried on that business, by Perso[illegible] of Honor and Integritie; that so I might neith[illegible] encourage the Rebels insolence, nor discourage t[illegible] Protestants Loialtie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that t[illegible] necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permi[illegible] I was then to suffer again in My Reputation an[illegible] Honor; becaus I suffered not the Rebels utterly t[illegible] devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestan[illegible] there.

I thought, that, in all reason, the gaining of th[illegible] respite could not bee so much to the Rebel's advan[illegible] tages (which *som* have highly calumniated again[illegible] Mee) as it might have been for the Protestant's fu[illegible] ture, as well as present safetie; if, during the time o[illegible] that Cessation, *som men* had had the grace to hav[illegible] lai'd *Ireland*'s sad condition more to heart; and lai'd aside those violent motions which were here carrie[illegible] on by those, that had better skill to let blood, the[illegible] to stanch it.

§ 9. But in all the mis-constructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men t[illegible] what is falsand evil, then love or charitie to what i[illegible] true and good) as I have no Judg but God abov[illegible] Mee,

Mee, so I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniscience, who doth not therefore denie My Innocence, because hee is pleased so far to trie My patience, as hee did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a King; I have scarce leasure to consider those *swarms of reproaches*, which issue out of *some men's* mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do out of a furnace; Much less to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who, *conscious to their own depth of wickednes, are loth to believe one man not to bee as bad as themselves.*

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If I can but get the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as My worst enemies can fallly saie. And, I hope, I shall still do better then they desire, or deserv I should.

§ 10. I believ it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil My other Kingdoms, are a great part guiltie, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timelie stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My enemies pleas to saie or think) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins; no man beeing so much weak'ned by it, as My self: And I hope, though men's unsatiable Cruelties never will, yet the Mercie of God will at length saie to his Justice, *It is enough*, and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: His merciful Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O My God, let those infinite Mercies prevent us yet again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserv should bee restored.

Thou

Thou see'st how much cruelties among Christians
acted under the color of Religion; as if wee could
bee Christians, unless wee crucifie one another.

Because wee have not more loved Thy Truth, a
practised in Charitie; Thou hast suffered a spirit
error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred
rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein wee have sinned; a
sanctifie what wee have suffered.

Let our Repentance bee our recoverie; as our gr
sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries, I and My Kingdoms have
therto suffered, seem small to Thee: but make our s
appear to our consciences, as they are represented in t
glass of Thy judgments; for Thou never punishest sm
failings with so severe Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of Thy gr
Mercies, pardon our sins, and remove Thy Judgme
which are verie manie and verie heavie.

Yet let our sins bee ever more grievous to us, th
Thy judgments; and make us more willing to repe
then to bee relieved; first give us the Peace of penit
Consciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kin
doms.

In the Sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sin
and, through thin red sea of our own blood, bring us
last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As My publick Relations to all, make Mee sha
in all My Subjects sufferings; so give Mee such a
one sense of them, as becom's a Christian King, an
loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast up
Mee bee as a breath more to kindle My compassion
Give Mee grace to heap charitable coals of fire up
their heads to melt them, whose Malice or cruel Ze
hath kindled or hindred the quenching of those flam
which have so much wasted My three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ir
land, whom Thou hast hitherto preserved;

A

And lead those in the waies of Thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do *Thee* good service.

Let the hand of Thy Justice bee against those, who malitiously and despitefully have raised or fomented these cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Malitious; Thou that had'st pitie on Nineveh *for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnes makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore justly cursed.*

Preserv, if it bee Thy will, in the midst of the fornace of Thy severe Justice a Posteritie which may praise Thee for Thy Mercie;

And deal with Mee, not according to man's unjust reproaches; but according to the innocencie of My hands in Thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compesing of these bloodie distractions; then let Thy hand bee against Mee, and My Father's house. O Lord, Thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate Thy curson Mee and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integritie, which Thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to My own merit, but Thy Mercies; spare us, O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Coming.*

THe *Scots* are a nation, upon whom I have not onely common Ties of Nature, Sovereignitie, and

and Bountie, with My Father of blessed memorie but also special and late obligations of Favors having gratified the active Spirits among them so far that I seemed, to manie, to prefer the desires of the Partie before My own interest and Honor. But, I see *Rcial bountie emboldens SOM MEN to a and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude*

§ 2. My charitie and Act of Pacification forbid Mee to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconstancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the Publick good: I praie God it may prove.

§ 3. The coming again of that Partie into *England* with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to the late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselvs.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the *Presbyterian Copie* they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in *bloodie Characters*.

Which design and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent means, before the Divine Justice I leav to their Consciences to judg, who have already felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnes of grain beeing objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the onely just reformation and settling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have don in *England* when so manie of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie and faced about to their Presbyterie.

§ 4. It

§ 4. It cannot but seem either passion, or som self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anie forrein State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselvs have used, *rather successfully then commendably*; not considering that *the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.*

Nor do I know anie such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications, then those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: *Nor is it so proper to bew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations* among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom *not Force, but Reason ought to convince.*

§ 5. But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scots* pattern before ever they could bee heard what they could saie for themselvs, or against the other's waie.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other men's Consciences too, who can rarely litt'e satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's disputing in free and learned Synods.

§ 6. Sure, in matters of Religion, those Truths can most on men's Judgments and Consciences, which are least urged with *secular violence*, which *weaken's Truth with prejudices*; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn men's obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so manie learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, having alwaies bred up and conformable to the Government

vernment of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renou
both their former opinion and practice, onely beca
that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force assist a lik
Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as shee
into the common fold of Presbyterie; or destroi
them; at least fleece them, by depriving them
the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Pre
byterie were proved to bee the onelie institution
Jesus Christ, for all Churche's Government; yet
believ it would bee hard to prove, that Christ ha
given those *Scots*, or anie other of My Subjects
Commission, by the Sword, to set it up in anie of M
Kingdoms, without My Consent.

§ 7. What respect and obedience Christ and hi
Apostles pai'd to the chief Governors of State
where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; bu
that Hee, or They ever commanded to set up sur
a *paritie of Presbyters*, and in such a waie as tho
Scots endevour, I think is not verie disputable.

§ 8. If *Presbyterie* in such a supremacie bee
institution of Christ, sure it differ's from all other
and *is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that w
to bee planted and watered with so much Christia
blood*; whose effusion run's in a stream so contrari
to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christian
tie and Episcopacie; which was with Patient shed
ding of their own blood, not Violent drawing othe
men's. Sure *there is too much of Man in it, to hav
much of Christ*; none of whose institutions were ca
ried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetou
nes or Ambition; of both which this is vehement
suspected.

§ 9. Yet was there never anie thing upon the poin
which those *Scots* had by Armie or Commissione
to move Mee with, by their manie *Solemn obtestat
ons* and *pious threat'nings*, but onely this; to repr
sent to Mee the wonderful necessitie of setting
their Presbyterie in *England* to avoid the further m
series of a War; which *som men* chiefly on th
desig

ign at first had begun, and now further engaged emselvs to continue.

§ 10. What hinder's that anie Sects, Schisms, or reſies, if they can get but number, ſtrength and portunitie, may not, according to this opinion pattern, ſet up their waies by the like methods violence? all which Preſbyterie ſeek's to ſuppreſs render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe learned men think, that *nothing hath more marks Schiſm and Sectariſm, then this Presbyterian waie*; as to the Antient, and ſtill moſt Univerſal waie the Church-government; and eſpecially as to the ticular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* rch; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to for Mee, till I ſee more Rational and Religious ives then Souldiers uſe to carrie in their Knap-

§ 11. But wee muſt leav the ſucceſs of all to God, hath manie waies (having firſt taken us off from follie of our opinions and furie of our paſſions) teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon and peaceable dom, which is from above, tending moſt to God's rie, and His Churche's Good; which I think ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to nd with the moſt judicious Zeal and care, by much *I eſteem the Church above the State; the ie of Chriſt above Mine Own*; and the *Salvation men's Souls above the preſervation of their bodies Eſtates*.

§ 12. Nor may anie men, I think, without ſin and ſumption, forcibly endevour to caſt the Churches, er My care and tuition, into the moulds they have ncied and faſhioned to their deſigns, till they have gained My conſent, and reſolved both My own other men's Conſciences by the ſtrength of their ſons.

Other *violent motions, which are neither Manlie, illian, nor Loial, ſhall never either ſhake or unſettle Religion*; nor anie man's elſ, who know's what

Religion

Religion mean's, and how far it is removed from
Faction; whose proper engine is *Force, the arbitre*
of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of bum
Christians and loial Subjects, in matters of Religi

§ 13. But men are prone to have such high co
ceits of themselvs, that they care not what cost th
laie out upon their opinions; especially those t
have som temptation of gain to recompens th
losses and hazards.

§ 14. Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Sc*
Armie's coming in against My will, and their f
feiture of so manie obligations of Dutie and Gra
tude to Mee, then I wondered, how those here co
so much distrust God's assistance; who so ma
pretended *God's Cause* to the People, as if they h
the certaintie of som divine Revelation; consider
they were more then competently furnished w
My Subject's Arms and Ammunition; My Navie
Sea; My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde that *men jealous of the Justifiable*
of their doings and designs before God never think t
have humane strength enough to carrie their work
seem it never so plausible to the People; *what c*
not bee justified in Law or Religion had need
fortified with Power.

§ 15. And yet such is the *inconstancie* that *atten*
all mindes engaged in violent motions, that wh
som of them one while earnestly invite to com in
their assistance, *others* of them soon after are wea
of, and with nauseating cast them out: what
Partie thought to rivet to a settlednes by the stren
and influence of the *Scots*, that the other reject's
contemn's; at once, despising the *Kirk-Governm*
and *Discipline* of the *Scots*, and frustrating the
cess of so chargeable more then charitable assistan
For, sure the Church of *England* might have p
chased, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happines
Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had b
wanting) though it had entertained the best Divi

of Christendom for their advice in a full and free
synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous
of, that matters beeing impartially settled, might bee
more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

§ 16. But much of God's Justice, and man's follie
will at length bee discovered, thorough all the films
and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians
wrap up their designs; *in vain do men hope to build*
their pietie on the ruines of Loialtie. Nor can those
confederations or designs be durable, when Subjects
make bankrupt of their *Allegiance*, under pretens of
setting up a quicker trade for *Religion*.

§ 17. But as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never
deserted Mee; so I cannot think that the most are
run so far from Mee in a Prodigalitie of their love
and respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair
of their return; when, besides the bonds of Nature
and Conscience, which they have to Mee, all Reason
and true Policie will teach them, that *their chiefest*
wealth consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in
the serviceablenes to anie Partie of the People, to
the neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor
for their own advantages: However, the less cause I
have to trust to men, the more I shall applie My
selfe to God.

The Troubles of My Soul are enlarged; O Lord,
Thou Mee out of My distress.
And direct Thy Servant in the waies of that pious
simplicitie, which is the best policie,
Deliver Mee from the combined strength of those
that have so much of the Serpent's subtiltie, that they
want the Dove's Innocencie.
Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail
against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience
and Honor.
Alas, O Lord, can'st turn the hearts of those Parties
of both Nations, as Thou did'st the men of Judah and
Israel, to restore David *with so much loial Zeal, as*
they

they did with constancie and eagernes pursue Him
Preserv the love of Thy Truth and Uprightnes
Mee, and I shall not despair of My Subjects affection
returning towards Mee.

Thou can'st soon caus the over-flowing Seas to ebb
and retire back again to the bounds which Thou hast
appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in Thee; let Mee not
ashamed; let not My Enemies triumph over Mee.

Let them bee ashamed who transgres without
cause; let them bee turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integritie and uprightnes preserv Mee; for I
wait on Thee, O Lord.

Redeem Thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to bee hired
the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing
indoce them to engage, till those that call them
have pawned their Souls to them by a *Solemn Leag*
and *Covenant*.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pret
sions are brought chiefly to batter, or raze Episc
pacie; This they make the *grand evil Spirit*, wh
(with som other *Imps* purposely added, to mak
more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by
solemn a *charm* and *exorcism* bee cast out of th
Church, after more then a thousand years possessi
here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in
Iland; and an universal prescription of time
practice in all other Churches, since the Apost
times, till this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it: *Presbyt*
like *a young Heir*, think's the Father hath lived
enough; and impatient not to bee in the Bish
Chair and Authoritie (though Lay-men go aware
the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopack
lan

such Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately
moyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a
Covenant.

§ 2. Although I am unsatisfied with manie pas-
sages in that Covenant, som referring to My self
with *verie dubious and dangerous limitations*; yet I
chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the
discipline and Government of the Church; and such
a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths
and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee en-
tered by no less then swearing for, or against those
things, which are of no clear moral necessitie; but
verie disputable, and controverted among learned
and godlie men: whereto the application of Oaths
can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judg-
ment and certaintie in one's self, or that charitie and
candor to others of different opinion, as I think
Religion require's; which *never refuse's fair and
equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in
matters onely probable.*

§ 3. The *enjoyning of Oaths upon People must
needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things
unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where
former religious and legal Engagements bound men
sufficiently to all necessarie duties.* Nor can I see how
they will reconcile such an *Innovating Oath* and
Covenant with that former Protestation, which was
lately taken, to maintein the Religion established
in the Church of *England*; since they account Di-
scipline so great a part of Religion.

§ 4. But *ambitious mindes never think they have
snares and gins enough to catch and hold the
people credulitie*: for, by such politick and seeming
religious stratagems they think to keep the *Populacie*
to their Parties under the terror of perjurie;
whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever
thought themselves sufficiently bound by former Ties
of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.
Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed

by a few men in a declared Partie, without My consent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolv or slacken those *more and eternal bonds of Dutie*, which lie upon all My Subjects Consticences both to God and Mee.

§ 5. Yet, as things now stand, good men shall lea offend God or Mee, by keeping their Covenant *honest and lawful waies*; since I have the charitie think, that *the chief end of the Covenant*, in su men's intentions, *was, to preserv Religion in Puri and the Kingdoms in Peace*: To other then s ends and means they cannot think themselvs engage nor will those, that have anie true touches of Co science endevour to carrie on the best designs, (mu less such as are, and will bee daily more apparent factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful mean under that title of the Covenant: unless they da prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-autorized no velties, before their known and sworn Duties, whic are indispensable, both to God and My self.

§ 6. I am prone to believ and hope That manie who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judg ment, That such *later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues ca never blot out those former gravings and characte which by just and lawful Oaths were made up their Souls*.

§ 7. That which make's such Confederations by waie of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used all factious and powerful perturbations of State Church: where *formalities of extraordinarie Zeal pietie are never more studied and elaborate, then w Politicians most agitate desperate designs against that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws*; whi by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrest by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from th known Rule and wonted Practice, to complie, wi the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all t

their own will and power, under the disguises of *Holie Combinations.*

Which cords and withs will hold men's Consciences no longer, then force attend's and twist's them: for everie man soon grow's his own *Pope*, and easily absolv's himself of those Ties, which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtiltie and terror of a Partie cast's upon him; either *superstitious and vain*, when they were sufficiently tied before; or *fraudulent and invalid*, if by such after-ligaments they finde the imposers really aiming to dissolv, or suspend their former, just, and necessarie obligation.

§ 8. Indeed, such *illegal wayes seldom, or never, bound the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Ruine*; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie *pretended*, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Design *intended*.

§ 9. I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like *Manna* (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie man's palat and reliſh, who will but swallow it: They admit anie men's senses of it, though divers, or contrarie; with anie salvo's, cautions, and reservations; so as they cross not the Chief Design which is laid against the Church and Mee.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming increas to their Partie; so little do men remember that *God is not mocked.*

In such latitudes of sens, I believ, manie that love Mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant; who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all Pietie and loialtie: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for anie value of it, or devotion to it. Where-the latitude of som general Clauses may (perhaps) serv somwhat to reliev them; as, of *Doing and endevouring*

devouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Calling; and *according to the Word of God:* for, these indeed, carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties.

§ 10. I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters* would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them. Surely it were the best waie to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must then appear, when, before the want of a full and lawful Autoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually bee carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such men's taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of *Pietie, Law,* and *Loialtie,* as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

§ 11. As for that *Reformation of the Church,* which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comly, that by the partial advice of *a few Divines* (of so *soft and servile tempers,* as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should bee cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England,* as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any men's now factiously engaged.

§ 12. No man can bee more forward then My self to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall, after impartial advice, bee, by God's Word and right reason, convinced to bee amiss; *I have offered more then ever the fullest, frest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.* § 13. D

§ 13. But the sequel of *som men's* actions make's it evident, that the main *Reformation* intended, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the *fattest Deer*, must bee destroied; the other *Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies*, &c. beeing lean, may enjoie the benefit of a *Toleration*: This *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, *while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compass, which Factious men steer their cours by in all seditious commotions.*

§ 14. I thank God, as no man laie more open to the *sacrilegious temptation* of usurping the Churche's Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such *sacrilegious Reformings*: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserv and use, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predecessors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive Mee or Mine to invade or *sell the Priest's Lands*; which both *Pharaoh's* divinitie, and *Joseph's* true pietie abhorred to do: *so unjust I think it, both in the eie of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employments of all due incouragements*; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the *Straw*, and increas the *Task*; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as *som* have don, to the *Red Sea* of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteem's it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chiefest Glorie to bee, *The Defender of the*

Church, both in its true Faith, and its just Fruitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apostacie.

I had rather live, as My Predecessor *Henrie* the 3. sometimes did, *on the Church's Alms, than violently take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouth.*

§ 15. The next work will bee *Jeroboam's* Reformation; consecrating the meanest of the People to bee Priests in *Israel*, to serv those *golden Calvs* who have enriched themselvs with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and People, is well enough known. And so it will bee here, when, from the tuition of *Kings and Queens*, which *have been nursing Fathers and mothers of this Church*, it shall bee at their allowance, who have alreadie discovered, what *hard Fathers and Step-mothers* they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Churche's Rights and Revenues.

§ 16. I cannot so much as praie God to prevent those *sad consequences*, which *will inevitably follow the pauitie and poverise of Ministers, both in Church and State*; since I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it beeing everie man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

§ 17. *There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church*; as I would bee a *Restorer* of the one, so I would not be an *Oppressor* of the other, under the pretens of Publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were base enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee accessorie to either.

To Thee, O Lord, do I address My praiers, beseeching Thee to pardon the rashness of My Subjects swearing, and to quicken their sens and observation of those sins

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moral, and indispensable bonds, which Thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences, from which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolv them, or to engage them to anie contrarie practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider that nothing violent and injurious can bee Religious.

Thou allowest no man's committing Sacrilege under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of Religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie.

Ever keep Thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posteritie of robbing Thee and Thy Church, of what Thy bountie hath given us and Thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues anticipated, and My Debts Increased; yet never suffer Me to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; a coal from Thine Altar, (such a fire on My Zeale and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts and engagements of the Publick, which som men's follie and prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoverish Thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by Thy blessing of Peace unto us; the Church is never likelier, in times, where Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Devotion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serv Thee and Thy Church all the encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserv and use them right to Thy Glorie, and the relief of the poor; that Thy Saints may bee clothed with righteousness, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

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The State may soon recover by Thy blessing of Peace and Trade; the Church is never likelier, in times, where Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their affections so illiberal.

Continue to those that serv Thee and Thy Church all due encouragements, which, by the will of the Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserv and use them aright to Thy Glorie, and the relief of the poor; that Thy Saints may bee clothed with righteousness, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee giv'n to Swine, nor the Churche's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Citie, grin like a Dog, and grudg that they are not satisfied.

Let those Sacred morsels, which som men *have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor their's; let them bee as* Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottennes to their Names, a mote to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together against the Church and State; that the follie of such may bee manifest to all men, & proceed no further.

But so favor My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the Mercies of Thee the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the manie* Jealousies *raised and* Scandals *cast upon the* King *to stir up the People against Him.*

If I had not My own Innocencie, and God's Protection, it were hard for Mee to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Factions seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supplie the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Mee. And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie come short of these designs: For, *I can more willingly lose My Crowns, then My Credit*; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but they may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie when I am dead and gon: *A good Name* being *the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating incense to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posterity.*

§ 2. The

§ 2. Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their's too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loialtie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, *the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls; who'e eies once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of actions*; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their *zealous adventures*; while I am rendred to them so fit to bee destroied, that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My *Destroiers*; Imagining they then *fear God* most, when they least *honor their King*.

§ 3. I thank God, I never found but My pitie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate praiers from them, whom *devout errors*, more then their own malice, have betraied to a most *religious Rebellion*.

§ 4. I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed *Errors*, not My *Person*; and intended to *mend* Mee, not to end Mee: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that, as Hee hath yet preserved Mee, so, Hee hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do Him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have don.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned them *fatal injuries*, then I am ambitious by all Princelie merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

§ 5. *I am too conscious to My own Affections, toward the generalitie of My people, to suspect them to Mee*; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever bee able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence

fidence give's Mee; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with anie sinister thought of all their All giance, whom *pious frauds* have seduced.

The worst *some men's* ambition can do shall never perswade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions, who possibly may bee *Erroneous*, but not *Heretical* in point of Loialtie.

§ 6. *The sense of the Injuries don unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those don to My self*; our welfares beeing inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by *some* Seducers to injure at once both themselvs and Mee.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies that I bee afflicted; but it must bee don by such instrument; that *My afflictions grieve Mee not more then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.*

§ 7. If they had been My open and forrein Enemies, I could have born it; but they must bee My own Subjects, who are, *next to My Children*, dear to Mee: and for the restoring of whose tranquillitie I could willingly bee the *Jonah*, if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrarie windes, the storm of their miseries would bee rather increased then allaied.

§ 8. *I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them*; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happiness, if it could expiate or countervail such a waie of obteining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betraie My own just Rights and Sovereigntie; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My enemies; between whose malice and other men's mistakes, I put as great a difference

as between an ordinarie *Ague* and the *Plague*; or the *Itch of Noveltie* and the *Leproſie of Diſloialtie*.

§ 9. As Liars need have good Memories, ſo Malicious perſons good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's phancie; and, what their reproaches want of truth they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience, I thank God, will better ſerv Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leaſare to anſwer the manie falſ Aſſperſions which *ſom men* have caſt upon Mee.

§ 10. Did I not more conſider My Subject's Satiſfaction, then My own Vindication, I ſhould never have giv'n the malice of *ſom men* that pleaſure, as to Mee take notice of, or remember what they ſaie, or object.

I would leav the Autors to bee puniſhed by their own evil manners and ſcared Conſciences, which will, I believ, in a ſhorter time then they bee aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſ Scandals which they have caſt on Mee; And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie (I need not ſaie Loialtie) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit and reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long bee quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame *formace of Popular obloquie* and detractiō, which they have ſtudied to *beat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamie*, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honor.

§ 11. Firſt, nothing gave Mee more cauſ to ſuſpect and ſearch My own Innocencie, then when I obſerved ſo manie forward to engage againſt Mee, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular pietie; For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Mee and My Cauſ, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Mee, and not to blaſpheme him; ſo manie were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent,

inconsistent, to bee at once Loial to Mee, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had, I thank God, manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein *soms men* glorie so much) who were so well satisfied in the caus of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Mee, then forsake Mee.

§ 12. Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions, as were used against Mee, should bee to manie well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Mee; Especially, beeing urged by such *Popular Preachers*, as *think it no sin to lie for God, and what they plead to call God's Caus*, cursing all that will not curs with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these men's judgments must bee made up by their clamors and activitie.

§ 13. It was *a great part of SOMMEN'S Religion to scandalize Mee and Mine*; they thought theirs could not bee true, if they cried not down Mine as falš.

§ 14. I thank God, I have had more trial of His grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as *too great a fixedness in that Religion*, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquitie, will not give My Conscience leav to approve, or consent to those manie *dangerous and divided Innovations*, which the bold Ignorance of *som men* would needs obtrude upon Mee and My People.

Contrarie to those well tried foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning and clearer Zeal have setled in the Confession and Constitution

constitution of this Church in *England*; which manie former Parliaments, in the moſt calm and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by God's help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

§ 15. Nor did My *uſing the aſſiſtance of ſom Papiſts*, which were My Subjects, anie waie fight againſt My Religion, as *ſom men* would needs interpret it; ſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they emploied, or what they ſaid, and did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would bee deemed, ſhould not conceiv, That *differences of perſuaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſs of dutie, Allegiance, and ſubjection.* The firſt they ow as men and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond they ow to Mee, in common, as their KING. *Different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot* (anie more then in civil Trades) *take away the communitie of Relations either to Parents, or to Princes*: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medlie of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice who finde moſt fault with Mee, without anie ſcruple, as to the diverſitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would bee counted Proteſtants, to enforce Mee, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſarie uſe of Papiſts, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in ſuch exigents, to uſe the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am ſorrie the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſ of their Allegiance, then manie Proteſtant-Profeſſors; who ſeemed to have learned, and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unreaſonable ſcruple in Mee, and verie pleaſing, no doubt, to My Enemies, to have been then diſputing the

the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as Men, no less than their praiers as Christians.

§ 16. The noise of My *Evil Counsellors* was another useful devise for those, who were impatient and men's counsels, but their own, should bee followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Mee better counsel, that they would not give Me leav to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, a King; making their counsels more like a *Drench* that must bee powred down, then a *Draught* which might bee fairly and leasurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane errors and frailties, My self, or My Counsellors: They might bee subject to som miscarriages, yet such as were more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith *som* have now even wild'red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Mee, or My self anie inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State, in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions and Hell of miseries as *som* have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the mid'st of their manie great advantages redeem either Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either don or advised amiss; and this I thought I had don even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorrie to see Mee prone even to injure My self out of a zeal to reliev My subjects.

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge, upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State of the benefit of all

My

My, either *Retractations*, or *Concessions*; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now so *Zealous persecutors*) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to bee relieved, then bee revenged, so as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attend's humble and injured sufferers.

§ 17. Another artifice used to with-draw My People's affections from Mee, to their designs, was, the noise and ostentation of *Libertie*, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; *which is to do what everie man liketh*

If the *Divinest libertie* bee *to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws and Religion*, I envie not My Subjects that libertie, which is all I desire to enjoie My self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing their's: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Mee so prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselvs and their posterities.

As to *Civil Immunities*, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; *whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.*

Nor is it just anie man should exspect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his Safetie while hee seek's an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that *those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselvs the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.*

They

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should bee really tender of their fellow-subject's liberties, who have the hardness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to complete their mirth and triumph but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humilitie and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activitie, which seek's to hatch everie one of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Sceptre should intrench on God's Sovereigntie, who is onely King of men's consciences; and yet hee has laid such restraints upon men, as command them to bee *subject for Conscience sake*, giving no men liberty to break the Law established, further then with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the Publick Peace.

§ 18. The truth is, *SOMMEN's thirst after Novelties*, other's *despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes*, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting God's providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret, but principal impulsives to these Popular Commotions; by which Subjects have been perswaded to exspend much of those plentiful estates they got, and enjoied in peaceable times, under My Government; which yet must now bee blasted with all the odious reproaches which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may not diminish the Majestie of a King, and increase the ungrateful insolencies of My people.

§ 19. For *Mine Honor*; I am well assured, that as Mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of all calumnies they object; so My Reputation shall, like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom

in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as those Feral birds shall bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For *never were anie Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffer'd to bee tried in the furnace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.*

And who know's but the just and merciful God will do Mee good, for *som men's* hard, false, and evil speeches against Mee; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believ, or know.

§ 20. Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) as *those men* do, who, pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating the Majestie of their King against anie of those, who, contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speak evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those*, who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But *'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not Honor their King.*

They will easily contemn such *shadows of God*, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie; yet hath *bee graven such Characters of divine Autoritie and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out.* Nor shall their black veils bee able to hide the shining of My face, while God give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glorie and majestie.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My disshonor, My Adversaries are all before Thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine

Mine enemies reproach Mee all the daie long; and those that are mad against Mee are sworn together.

O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My glorie into shame? how long shall they love vanitie and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on everie side. Hold not Thy peace, lest My enemies prevail against Mee, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroie them that speak lies: the Lord will abhorr both blood-thirstie, and deceitfull men.

Make My righteousnes to appear as the light; and Mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon daie.

Suffer not My silence to betraie My innocence; My displeasure My patience; That, after My Saviour's example, beeing reviled, I may not revile again; and, beeing cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that would'st not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished, when by Thy judgments on David it might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches; give Mee grace to intercede with Thy Mercie for these Mine enemies; that the reward of falsé and lyeing tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let My praiers and patience bee as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are alreadie set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let Mee bee happie to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking, by wel-doing; and let them enjoie not the fruits of their lips, but of My praier for their repentance, and Thy pardon.

Teach Mee David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to Thy Mercie through mans malice, and see Thy Justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshekah's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as My humble praiers to Thee, so Thy renewed blessing toward Mee.

Though they curse, do Thou bless, and I shall bee blessed and made a blessing to My people.

That the stone, which som *builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.*

Look down from heaven, and save Mee from the reproach of them that would swallow Mee up.

Hide Mee, in the secret of Thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep Mee from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Praier-Book.*

IT is no news to have all *Innovations* ushered in with the name of *Reformation* in Church and State, by those, who, seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinarie parts and pietie, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So *hardly can the pride of those that studie Novelties in former times attain to share in degree of wisdom or holinesse.*

2. And becaus matter of *Praier and Devotion* to God justly bear's a great part in Religion, (beeing *the Soul's more immediate converse with the Divine Majestie*) nothing could bee more plausible to the people then to tell them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our *Publick Liturgie*, or Forms of constant Praiers must bee *not amended* (in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent) but wholly *cashiered and abolished*; and, for manie Popular contempts offered to the Book, by those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must bee crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who used in their *extemporarie vein and fluencie*; or those, who conscious to their own *formalitie* in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it,

and

and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

§ 3. As for the *matter* conteined in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt *the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of England; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox.*

§ 4. For the *manner* of using *Set and Prescribed Forms*, there is no doubt but that wholsom words beeing known and fitted to men's understandings are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see anie reason why Christians should be wearie of a *well-composed Liturgie* (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the *Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulness.*

§ 5. I could never see anie Reason, why any Christian should abhorr, or bee forbidden to use the same Forms of praier, since hee praie's to the *same God*, believ's in the *same Saviour*, professeth the *same Truths*, read's the *same Scriptures*, hath the *same duties* upon him, and feel's the *same dailie wants* for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what *wee praie, as to whom wee praie*; and in what words as to what *sens*; when wee desire the *same things*, what hinder's wee may not use the *same words*, our appetite and digestion too may bee good when wee use, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread.*

§ 6. *Some men*, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely dis-use (as too manie) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; which

great guilt is, that it *is the warrant and original pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.*

§ 7. I ever thought that the *proud ostentation* of men's abilities for invention, and the *vain affectation* of varietie for expressions, in Publick Praier, or anie sacred Administrations, merit's a greater brand of [illegible], then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties less subject to [illegible]mal and superficial tempers, as to their hearts, [illegible] *in the use of constant Forms*, where *not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.*

§ 8. I make no doubt but *a man may bee verie [illegible] in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie [illegible]ntly-devout in the most wonted expressions*: Nor [illegible] God more a God of varietie, then of constancie: [illegible] are constant Forms of Praiers more likelie to [illegible] and hinder the *Spirit of Praier* and Devotion, [illegible] un-premeditated and confused varietie to di[illegible] and lose it.

§ 9. Though I am not against *a grave, modest, [illegible], and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in [illegible]ck*, the better to sit and excite their own, and [illegible] People's affections to the present occasions; yet [illegible]ow no necessitie why private and single abilities [illegible]ld quite justle out, and deprive the Church of [illegible] joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie [illegible]ed and godlie men; such as the Composers of [illegible] Service-book were; who may, in all reason, bee [illegible]ght to have more of gifts and graces enabling [illegible] to compose, with serious deliberation and con[illegible]nt advice, such Forms of Praiers, as may best [illegible] the Churche's common wants, inform the Hearer's [illegible]standing, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent [illegible]ation of their spirits (wherein consist's the [illegible] *life and soul of Praier*, and that so much pre[illegible] Spirit of Praier) then anie private man by his [illegible] *abilities* can bee presumed to have; which, [illegible] they are manie times (even there, where they [illegible] a great noise and shew) the *affectations, emptiness*,

neſs, impertinencie, ruden ſs, confuſions, flatneſs, levi
obſcuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the ſenſ
and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all the
burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable leng
do ſufficiently convince all men but thoſe who glo
in that *Phariſaick waie*. Wherein men muſt b
ſtrangely-impudent, and flatterers of themſelvs, n
to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and
in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and
Church, after ſo ridiculous, and, indeed, profa
manner.

§ 10. Nor can it bee exſpected, but that, *in*
ties of frequent performance, as *Sacramental*
miniſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſa
Miniſters muſt either com to uſe their *own Fo*
conſtantly, which are not like to bee ſo ſound,
comprehenſive of the nature of the dutie, as Fo
of Publick compoſure; or elſ they muſt everie t
affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſa
which can hardly bee preſumed in anie man's gre
ſufficiencies not to want (manie times) much of
completeneſs, order, and gravitie, becoming th
duties; which by this means are expoſed at ev
celebration to everie Miniſter's private infirmi
indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, and defects, b
for judgment, and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſ of which inconvenience, in
Church, unavoidably following everie man's ſev
manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned
wiſdom and pietie of the Antient Churches to re
die thoſe miſchiefs by the uſe of *conſtant Liturgi*
Publick compoſure.

The want of which I believ this Church will ſ
ciently feel, when the unhappie fruits of manie m
un-govern'd ignorance and confident defects ſh
bee diſcovered in more errors, ſchiſms, diſord
and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which
alreadie but too manie; the more is the pitie.

§ 11. However, if violence muſt needs bring

abett those Innovations, (*that men may not seem to have nothing to do*) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbid, at least, to bee so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used, and maintained the Service-Book; or, refusing to use it, lived out of the rigor of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the libertie of their Consciences in not using it.

That these men (I saie) should so suddenly change the *Liturgie* into a *Directorie*, as if the Spirit needed it for *invention*, though not for *expressions*; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to set words (so slight and easie is that Legerdemaine which will serv to delude the vulgar:) That further, they should use such severitie as not to suffer, without penaltie, anie to use the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, (although their Consciences binde them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Laws) ——

§ 12. Thus I see, *No men are prone to bee greater Saints, and more rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose life was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful Constitutions*; and whose *licentious humors* of pretended *Conscientious liberties*; which freedom, with much regret, they now allow to Mee, and my Chaplains, (when they may have leav to serv me:) whose abilities, even in their extemporarie prayer, com not short of the others, but their modestie and learning far exceed's the most of them.

§ 13. But this matter is of so Popular a nature, as men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest, beeing convinced by the evidence of reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledg by

taking away the Liturgie; or to displeas som factio of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believ they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their number and estate, but for their weightie and judicious pietie, the those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

§ 14. One of the greatest faults *som men* found with the Common-Praier-Book, I believ, was th *That it taught them to praie so oft for Mee*; to whi Petitions they had not Loialtie enough to saie *Am* nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, an even *Cursings of Mee* in their own forms, in stead praying for Mee.

I wish their Repentance may bee their onely p nishment; that, seeing the m schiefs which the d use of Publick Liturgies hath already produce they may restore that credit, use, and reverence them, which by the antient Churches were giv'n Set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

And thou, O Lord, who art the same God, bless for ever; whose Mercies are full of varietie, and yet constancie; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sens our old and dailie wants; nor despisest renewed affections joined to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of Thy Churche's unite and wil-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers bee agreeable to Thy will, which is alwaies the same; and the fervencie of our spirits to the motion of Thy Holie Spirit in us.

And then wee doubt not, but Thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to bee pleas with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our petitions them both.

Whose varietie or constancie Thou hast no wh either forbidden or commanded, but left them to th

pie

rietie and prudence of Thy Church, that both may bee sed, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consist's in Noveltie and varietie, as Truths in Unitie and constancie; Suffer not Thy Church to bee pestered with Errors, and deformed with undecencies in Thy Service, under the pretens of varietie and noveltie; Nor to bee deprived of truth, unitie, and order, under this fallacie, That Constancie is the Caus of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then wee know that praying to Thee, or praising of Thee (with David *and other holie men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will bee less to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver Thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the *Government of the Church by Bishops*, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintein it, not so much out of Pietie, as Policie and Reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed *Reason of State* doth induce Mee to approve that Government above anie other, as *I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him,*

as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keies of Heaven have so far the Keies of the People's hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loialtie.

So that, I beeing, as King, entrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by anie change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

§ 2. The *moving Bishops out of the House of Peers* (of which I have * elsiwhere given an account) was sufficient to take off anie suspicion, that I encline them for anie use to bee made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought anie Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience. *Pag. 51. li. 26. &c.

§ 3. I must now in Charitie bee thought desirous to preserv that Government in its right constitution, *as a matter of Religion*, wherein both My judgment is fully satisfied, *that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches*; till of late years, the tumultuarines of People, or the factiousnes and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnes of som States and Princes, gave occasion to *som men's* wits to invent new models, and propose them under the specious titles of *Christ's Government, Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, the better to serv their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

§ 4. They must give Mee leav, having none of their temptations to invite Mee to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believ their pretended grounds to anie new waies; contrarie to the full, and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men, that as the primitive Churches were undoubtedly Governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successors the first and best Bishops, so

cannot in reason or charitie bee supposed, that all Churches in the world should either bee ignorant of the Rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holie pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can bee produced of anie settled Church, wherein were manie Ministers and Congregations, which had not som Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large and evident Scripture-directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothie* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government, not in the *Persons* onely of *Timothie* and *Titus*, but in their *successors*; (the *want of Government* beeing that, which the Church can no more dispens with, in point of wel-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of beeing.) I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eie upon Bishop's power and autoritie, as to over-see both the *Ecclesiastical use* of them, and *Apostolical constitution*; which to Mee seem's no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the settling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Autoritie in them as *President-Bishops* above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical discipline, then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of *Presbyter-Bishops*, and Deacons, are described in som parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and communitie of the name were then, and may now not improperly bee call'd *Bishops*, as to the over-sight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinarie power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were manie Presbyters.

§ 5. The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the *eminent title of Apostles*, as a name in the

Churche's ſtyle appropriated from its common a
tion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpeci
dignitie which had extraordinarie call, miſſion, gif
and power immediately from Chriſt; they conten
themſelvs with the ordinarie titles of Biſhops a
Preſbyters, until *Vſe* (the great Arbitrator of word
and Maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtingui
by a peculiar name, thoſe perſons, whoſe power
office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all o
in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the
dinarie and conſtant power of governing the Churc
(the honor of whoſe name they modeſtly, yet co
mendably declined, all Chriſtian Churches ſubmitti
to that ſpecial autoritie) appropriated alſo the na
of *Biſhop*, without anie ſuſpicion or reproach of
rogancie, to thoſe, who were by *Apoſtolical Pro*
gation rightly deſcended and inveſted into th
higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the m
pure and Primitive Churches: which, without
doubt, had manie ſuch holie Biſhops, after the p
tern of *Timothie* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power
not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the ch
grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as fro
Divine Right) then are the characters of theſe *peri*
times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who,
eſchewing ſound doctrine and clear teſtimonies of
Churche's practice, are moſt *perverſ Diſputers*, a
proud uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacie: who, if th
bee not *Traitors* and *Boaſters*, yet they ſeem to b
verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate a
fierce, lovers of themſelvs, having much of the form
little of the power of Godlineſs.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and u
learned Teachers, ſeek to overlaie and ſmother t
pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Epiſcop
Government, which, beyond all equivocation a
vulgar fallacie of names, is moſt convincingly ſ
forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Hiſtories
the Church.

This I write rather like a *Divine*, then a *Prince*; that Posteritie may see (if ever these Papers bee published) that I had full grounds both from Scripture-reasons, and Ecclesiastical Examples, wherein My conscience stood for Episcopal Government.

§ 6. Nor was it unto Policie of State, or obstinacie of will or partialitie of affection, either to the men, or the Function, which fixed Mee; who cannot in point of worldlie respects bee so considerable to Mee, to recompens the injuries and losses I and My nearest relations, with My Kingdoms, have sustein-ed and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this Quarrel.

§ 7. And not onely in *Religion*, of which *Scripture is the best Rule, and the Churche's Universal practice the best Commentarie*, but also in *right reason*, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an orderlie Subordination among Pres-byters or Ministers, should bee anie more against Christianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Go-vernments, where *Parities breed Confusion and Anarchie*.

§ 8. I can no more believ, that such order is incon-sistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several Orders, and *a Prelacie*, in the Government of His Church amongst the Jewish Priests, should abhor, or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the Principles of Schism and Division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom, which was Divine, after that Christians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might best preserv Order and Union with Authoritie.

So that I conceiv *It was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the Wisdom and Pietie of the Apostles that first settled Bishops in the Church*; which Authoritie they constantly used and enjoied in

those times, which were purest for Religion; those sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidencie and Autoritie in one man by the joint Counsel and consent of manie Presbyteres: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid the Errors, Corruptions and Partialities which are incident to anie one man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becom's no Christians, least of all Church-men: besides, it will bee a means to take away that burden and *Odium* of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one man's shoulders; as, indeed, I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

§9. Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion then such a frame of Government which is *Paternal*, not *Magisterial*; and where in not onely the necessitie of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function, but also the difference of som Ministe'rs gifts, and aptitude for Government above others, doth invite to emploie them, in reference to those Abilities wherein they are eminent.

§10. Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Episcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit anie oppositions against it: It is well known I have endevored to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other waies can saie against this, or for their's: and I finde, as they have far less Scripture-grounds and of Reason; so of example and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories they are wholly destitute; wherein *the whole stream run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for anie others.*

§11. As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches, (for manie retein Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their incomformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never see anie reason why

Churches

churches, orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should bee forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this daie, who, Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are manie more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to bee; all whom the Churches, in My three Kingdoms, lately governed by Bishops, would equalize, I think, if not exceed. Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as manie do in som points) here to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handful of som Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in som points of Doctrine, yet you shall never persuade, that, to complete their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as *Catholick*, *Primitive*, and *Apostolical*; so far, that never Schismatick, nor Heretick, (except those Aërians) have straied from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

§ 12. Besides, the late general approbation and admission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergie as well as the Laitie of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their instancie is a great Prejudice against their Novelties; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Consciences; So that their facilitie and Levitie is never to bee excused, who, before ever the point of Church-govenment had anie free and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not onely quite cried down the government by Bishops; but have approved and

encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops and manie other Church men of all their due Autoritie and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from anie Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the Prevalencie of parties over som men's judgments; of whose so sudden and so total change little reason can bee giv'n, besides the *Scot*'s Armie coming into *England*.

§ 13. But the follie of these men will at last punish it self, and *the Desertors of Episcopacie will appear the greatest Enemies to, and betraiers of their own interest*: for Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopacie. All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favor of the People and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, and by the sweat and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcas they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whom Supremacie they have been sworn.

§ 14. A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacie not to have it extirpated, if I can hinder it. *Discreet, without passion might easily reform* whatever the rudeness of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners hath brought upon it: It being a great *Vulgar Error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of Times, or Persons*, which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men do abhorr.

§ 15. For those *secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Estate*, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men, I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to bee in anie degree of Church Government;

Government; also enablements to works of Charitie and Hospitalitie; meet strengthenings of their Autoritie in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly paied to anie Governors by the measure of their Virtues, so much as by that of their Estates: Povertie and meanness exposing them and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

§ 16. I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthie of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at anie time My judgment of men failed, My good intention made My error venial: and som Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of anie worth or forehead can denie: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to bee redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the *Presbyterian paritie*, which make's all Ministers equal; and the *Independent inferioritie*, which set's their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopacie: wherein (God know's) I do not gratifie anie design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

§ 17. And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it bee just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Mee their King and Sovereign, as som men have endeavored to do, against all these grounds of My judgment, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties.

§ 18. The greatest Pretender of them desire's not more then I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, *in true Reason*, and *in Scripture*; in which I could never see anie probable

bable shew for anie other waies: who either conte
themselvs with the examples of som Churches
their infancie and solitude, when one Presbyter migh
serv one Congregation in a Citie or Countrie; o
elss denie these most evident Truths, That the Apo
stles were Bishops over those Presbyters they o
dained, as well as over the Churches they planted
and that Government beeing necessarie for t
Churche's wel-beeing, when multiplied and sociate
must also necessarily descend from the Apostles
others, after the example of that power and superi
ritie they had above others; which could not e
with their persons; since the use and ends of su
Government still continue.

§ 19. It is most sure, that the purest, primitiv
and best Churches flourished under Episcopacie; a
may so still; if ignorance, superstition, avarice, r
venge, and other disorderlie and disloial passions h
not so blown up *som men's* mindes against it, tha
what they want of Reason or Primitive Pattern
they supplie with violence and oppression; where
som men's zeal for Bishop's-Lands, Houses, a
Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episco
pacie: which (however other men esteem) to Me
is no less sin, then Sacrilege, or a robberie of Go
(the giver of all wee have) of that portion whi
devout mindes have thankfully given again to hi
in giving it to his Church and Prophets; thorough
whose hands hee gratiously accept's even *a cup of cold water*, as a libation offered to himself.

§ 20. Furthermore, as to My particular engage
ment above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My
judgment, I am solemnly obliged to preserv th
Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnes of th
Function, as Antichristian, (which *som men* boldly,
but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judg
ment, break that Oath, which erroneously was take
by Mee:

But

But beeing daily, by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; *how can ane man, that misseth not My damnation, perswade Mee at once to so notorious and combined sins of Sacrilege and Perjurie?* besides the manie personal Injustices I must do to manie worthie men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as anie, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

§ 21. I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Mee, that My Coronation-Oath binde's Mee to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Mee, (which they urge with such violence) though contrarie to all that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought to preserv; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet, at the same time, *these men* will needs perswade Mee, That I must, and ought to dispens with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's Mee agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintein the Government and legal Rights of the Church: 'Tis strange, My Oath should bee bind in that part, which both My self and all men in their own case esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the verie natural and essential libertie of our souls; yet it should bee invalid, and to bee broken in another clause, wherein I think My self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by *some men's* ambitious Covetousness and Sacrilegious Cruelties, torturing (with Mee) both Church and State, in Civil dissensions; till I shall bee forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God know's) I utterly dislike, and in My soul abhorr; as manie wales highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should

shame-

shamefully and dishonorably give My consent, yet should I not, by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Mee and Episcopacie.

§ 22. Nor can *My late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-Government*, bee rightly objected against Mee, as an inducement for Mee to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it should be considered that Episcopacie was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I, in that respect, so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely-necessarie for all places, and at all times.

§ 23. If anie shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledg it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worf; I beeing now more convinced in that point; nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happie and successful as to encourage Mee to grant the like to others.

§ 24. Did I see anie thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charitie, and Loialtie in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect My judgment to bee biassed, or forestalled with som prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much caus to suspect the contrarie in the manners of manie of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new waie of Government.

§ 25. Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished beyond what they have don in My Kingdoms (by God's blessing) which might make Mee believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the

Church

Church and men's hearts and lives, then Episcopacie in it's right Constitution.

The abuses of which, desery to bee exstirpated, as much as the use reteined; for, I think, it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltie.

§ 26. A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-affairs should bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserv Mee.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest My uprightnes and underneß; as Thou hast set Mee to bee a Defendor of the Faith, *and a Protector of Thy Church; so suffer Mee not, by anie violence, to bee over-born against My Conscience.*

Arise, O Lord, maintein Thine own Caus; let not Thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from Thy Apostles, hath been reteined in purest and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of Secular envie; which seek's to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Mee, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to Thy afflicted Church; which som men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pitie, or relievo.

As My power is from Thee, so give Mee grace to use it for Thee.

And though I am not suffered to bee Master of My other Rights, as a King, yet preserv Mee in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and Thy Church's welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience, as a Christian.

Preserv, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings,

blessings, which Thy Providence hath bestowed on T
Church for Thy Glorie.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deser
Thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boar a
subtil Foxes, to waste and deform Thy Vine
which Thy right hand hath planted, and the dew
Heaven so long watered to a happie and flouris
estate.

O let Mee not bear the infamous brand, to all P
vitie, of being the first Christian King in this K
dom, who should consent to the oppression of Thy Ch
and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would ra
with Constantine, cover with silence and reform w
meeknes, then expose their Persons and sacred Fun
ons to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered wi
and for Thy Church; make no long tarrying O
God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreason
men; whose counsels have brought forth, and conti
such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying
antient boundaries of Thy Churche's peace; then
lasting in all manner of errors, schisms, and d
orders.

O Thou God of Order, and of truth, in Thy g
time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and c
found all the mischievous devises of Thine, Mine, a
Thy Churche's enemies:

That I, and all that love Thy Church, may sing pr
ses to Thee, and ever magnifie Thy salvation, even b
fore the sons of men.

18. *Upon* Uxbridg-*Treatie, and othe*
Offers made by the KING.

I Look upon the waie of *Treaties*, as *a retiring fro*
fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whos
strength should bee more in their understandings
then in their limbs.

An

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire, or disposition to it; having *greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword:* I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to present them with Expresses of My desires, and even Opportunities to Treat: It beeing an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianitie, to *seek peace, and ensue it.*

§ 2. As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My self with Armes; so I verie willingly imbraced anie thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword beeing verie dubious; and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the misse of the means.

Nor did anie success I ever had enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: *All that I sought to restore, was Mine Honour, and My Conscience*; the one I could not part with, as a KING; the other, as a Christian.

§ 3. The Treatie at *Uxbridg* gave the faireſt hopes of an happie composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor, and Conscience, would give Mee leav; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My People's happiness; or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered My Subjects either Securitie, or prosperitie; for they better enjoied both, manie years, before ever those demands were made; som of which to denie, I think the greatest injustice to My self, and Favor to My Subjects.

§ 4. I see, *Jealousies* are not so easily allaied, as they

they are raised: *Som men are more afraid to ret from violent Engagements, then to Engage*; wha wanting in equitie, must bee made up in pertina Such as had little to enjoie in Peace, or to los War, studied to render the verie Name of P odious and suspected.

§ 5. In Church-affairs, where I had least libe of prudence, having so manie strict Ties of Conscie upon Mee, yet I was willing to condescend so fa the settling of them, as might have giv'n fair s faction to all men, whom faction, covetousness, superstition had not engaged more, then anie zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

§ 6 I was content to yield to all that might to advance true pietie; I onely sought to cont what was necessarie in point of Order, Maintena and Autoritie to the Churche's Government; what I am perswaded (as I have * elswhere set do My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to true Principles of all Government, raised to its stature and perfection; as also to the Primi Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Unive Church conformed thereto. * *Pag.*

From which wholly to recede, without anie p bable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie *men's* wils and phantasies (which yet agree among themselvs in anie point, but that of exst pating Episcopacie, and fighting against Mee) m needs argue such a softness, and infirmitie of min in Mee, as will rather part with God's Truth, th Man's Peace; and rather lose the Chuche's honor, th cross *som men's* factious humors.

§ 7. God know's, and time will discover, wh were most too blame for the un-succesfulness of th Treatie, and who must bear the guilt of after-cal mities; I believ, I am verie excusable both befo God and all unpassionate men who have seriou weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavored n less the restauration of Peace to My people, the

the

the preservation of My own Crowns to My Posteritie.

§ 8. *SOM MEN have that hight, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feeblenes*; and glorie most in an inflexible stifnes, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them. A grand Maxim with them was alwaies *to ask nothing, which, in Reason and Honor, must bee denied, that they might have som color to refuse all that was in other things granted*; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endevoring first to make Mee destroie My self by dishonorable confessions, that so they might have the less to do.

§ 9. This was all which that Treatie, or anie other produced, to let the world see, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to *som men's* further restivenes is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Concessions, or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

§ 10. *The highest tide of success sit Mee not above a Treatie; nor the lowest ebb below a fight*: Though I never thought it anie sign of true valor to bee prodigal of men's lives, rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other men's.

§ 11. That which made Mee for the most part presage the unsuccesfulnes of anie Treatie, was *som men's* unwillingnes to Treat: which implied som things were to bee gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenes they were loth to have fairly scanned, seeing more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellors.

§ 12. I praie God forgive them that were guiltie of that Treaties-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunitie to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly

ly deferred, yet at last it may bee happily obtein'd what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may get by our Praiers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beſeeching them to bee reconciled with Thy ſelf; who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroie them, yet aboundeſt in Mercie to ſave; ſoften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with Thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerv Peace among our ſelves, as men and Chriſtians. How oft have I treated for Peace but when I ſpeak thereof, they are them readie to War.

Condemn us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelves, and others.

Clear up our underſtandings to ſee Thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and incline all our hearts, to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts againſt Thee: and give us that charitie which ſhould bee among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of War wee have deſerved, and ſhow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the War. Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappie War have (at leaſt, afforded Mee varietie of good Meditations: ſomtimes God was pleaſed to trie Mee with Victorie, by worſting Mine Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*

ile when Hee pleaſe's to repreſs the confidence of thoſe that fought againſt Mee, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginings on My part Hee let Mee ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by My people's love, or his protection,

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My Patience, and teach Mee not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

§ 2. *My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe*: and thoſe that were with Mee wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Mee: Nor were My enemies leſs puniſhed by that proſperitie, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtilitie, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

§ 3. There is no doubt but *perſonal and private ſins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements*; nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the waie of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and ſtrength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own Glorie.

I am ſure *the event or ſucceſs can never ſtate the juſtice of mie Cauſe, nor the peace of mee's Conſciences, or the eternal welfare of their Souls.*

§ 4. Thoſe with Mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or againſt Mee, in the point of raiſing Arms.

§ 5. Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the plea of ſom pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginarie Reaſons for ſelf-defenſ as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men

to

to allege, who, beeing My Subjects, were manifest
the first assaulters of Mee and the Laws; first b
unsuppressed Tumults; after by listed Forces. Th
same Allegations, they use, will fit anie Faction
that hath but power and confidence enough to seco
with the sword all their demands against the prese
Laws and Governors; which can never bee such
som side or other will not finde fault with, so as
urge what they call a Reformation of them to a R
bellion against them; som *parasitick Preachers* ha
dared to call those *Martyrs*, who died fighting aga
Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Es
blished.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Ti
can with Truth bee applied onely to those, w
sincerely preferred God's Truth and their dut
in all these particulars, before their lives, and all t
was dear to them in this world; who, having
advantageous designs by anie Innovation, were re
giously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, a
My self, which laie upon their Souls, both for ob
dience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did throu
his Mercie, crown manie of them with eternal lif
whose lives were lost in so just a Caus; The de
struction of their bodies beeing sanctified, as a mea
to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as
gratious opportunitie for their eternal health an
happiness; while the evident approach of death di
through God's grace, effectually dispose their hear
to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which to
gether with the Rectitude of their present engage
ment, would fully prepare them for a better li
then that, which their enemie's brutish and disloy
fierceness could deprive them of; or, without Re
pentance, hope to enjoie.

§ 6. They have often, indeed, had the better
against My side in the field; but never, I believ, a
the

the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those manie pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all the Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were of a desperate braverie, to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Mee.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to bee chosen by a wise man, (that duely value's his dutie, his soul, and dutie, beyond the enjoiments of this present life) then the most triumphant glorie, wherein their and my enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith my suspicious, or now-convicted Consciences do vex them; especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretenses were, which they first set forth as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising, and continuing it thus long against Mee and the laws established; in whose safetie and perservation all honest men think the welfare of their countrie doth consist.

For and with all which it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

§ 7. I have often prayed, that all on My side might *joyn true pietie with the sense of their Loialtie*; and bee as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not obstruct the endevours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that anie shews, or truth of zeal on the other side were sufficient to dispense with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loialtie to Mee, which have so pregnant convictions on their own Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their Lives for

§ 8. *I never had anie victorie which was without*

My

My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subj
who, like *Absalom*, died mame of them in their
And yet I never suffered anie Defeat, which m
Mee despair of God's Mercie and defens.

§ 9. *I never desired such Victories, as might serv*
conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberti
My people, which I saw were extremely oppre
together with My Rights by those men, who
impatient of anie just restraint.

§ 10. When Providence gave Mee, or denied
Victorie, My desire was neither to boast of My po
nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed a
would make *all things work together for My goo*

I wished no greater advantages by the War,
to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Fr
to peace.

§ 11. *I was afraid of the temptation of an abs*
conquest, and never praied more for Victorie
others, then over Myself. When the first was denie
second was granted Mee, which God saw best for

The different events were but the methods o
vine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow
That, by punishing our sins, Hee might purge t
from us; and, by deferring Peace, Hee might p
pare us more to prize, and better to use so gr
blessing.

§ 12. My often-Messages for Peace shewed th
delighted not in War; as My former Concessi
sufficiently testified, how willingly I would h
prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for
how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad Mee
fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms c
manded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

§ 13. I am guiltie in this War of nothing but
That I gave such advantages to *some men*, by c
firming their power, which they knew not to
with that modestie and gratitude, which became th
Loialtie and My confidence.

H

Had I yielded leſs, I had been oppoſed leſs; had
ied more, I had been obeied more.
14. 'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of
War; I wiſh onely a happie concluſion of ſo
appie beginings: The inevitable fate of our
was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer
Divine Juſtice to bee quiet: *wee, having con-*
His patience, are condemned, by mutual con-
, to deſtroie one another: for, the moſt pro-
ous ſucceſſes on either ſide impair the welfare
whole.
15. *Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leav*
unſubdued; flushing our pride, and animating
ntinue Injuries.
ce it ſelf is not deſirable, til repentance hath
ed us for it.
When we fight more againſt our ſelvs, and leſ
ſt God, wee ſhall ceaſ fighting againſt one ano-
; I praie God theſe may all meet in our hearts,
ſo diſpoſe us to an happie concluſion of theſe
l Wars; that I may know better to obeie God,
govern My People; and they may learn better
beie both God, and Mee.
Nor do I deſire anie man ſhould bee further ſub-
to Mee, then all of us may bee ſubject to God.

O *My God, make Mee content to bee overcom,*
Thou wilt have it ſo.
Teach Mee the nobleſt Victorie over My ſelf, and
Enemies by Patience; which was Chriſt's Con-
, and may well becom a Chriſtian King.
weeten both Thy hands, the right ſometimes ſup-
, and the left afflicting, faſhion us to that frame
ein Thou likeſt beſt.
rgive the Pride that attend's our proſperous, and
repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when,
e forth in our own ſtrength, Thou withdrawest
, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.
Thou all, when wee are ſomthing, and when wee

are nothing; that Thou mai'st have the glorie, when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest, how hard it is for Mee to suffer so much evil from My Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer those evils which they compel Mee to inflict upon them, in punishing My self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech Thee to give Mee a double portion of Thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can bee sufficient for Mee.

As I am most afflicted, so make Mee most reformed, that I may bee not onely happie to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to My Kingdoms.

Stirre up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with Reason, Moderation, and such Self-denial, as becomes those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Ruine of all is everie good man's chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, Thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War Thou should'st see fit still to denie us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give Mee Thy Servant, and all Loial, though afflicted, Subjects, to enjoie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Mee the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by Mee in My just and necessarie defens; but wash Mee with that precious blood which hath been shed for Mee by My great Peace-maker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeem Mee shortly out of all My troubles: for I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joie of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

0. Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glorie is more to bee envied then that of due reforming either Church or State; when de-rmities are such, that the perturbation and Noveltie re not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honor Mee so far, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should bee glad to see it don.

§ 2. As I was wel-pleased with this Parliament's best Pretensions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have de-praved; so I am sorrie to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the *good Laws established, and the Religion settled*; which *ought to bee the first Rule and Standard of Reforming*: with how much partialitie and Popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandal of the Re-formed Religion.

What *dissolutions* of all Order and Government in the Church, what *Novelties* of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what *undecencies* and confusions in sacred Administrations, what *sacrilegious invasions* upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what *con-tempt and oppressions* of the Clergie, what *injurious diminutions* and persecutings of Mee have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reforma-tion, all sober men are Witnesses, and (with My self) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that *Popular Cla-mors and Furie have been allowed the reputation of Zeal* and the Publick sens; so that *the studie to pleas-sum Parties hath indeed injured all.*

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure the best tempers of reforming Counsils and ende-vours: *What is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.*

§ 3. I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the result of whose Counsils as they would have included my Votes of all, so 'its like they would have giv n most satisfaction to all.

§ 4. The Assemblie of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted waie) to advise of Church-affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie thing, beeing limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England* as to the main, would have so suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them (the last of which, they knew to bee of Apostolical Institution at least; and Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrarie Factions had not, by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and in them, of Order, Learning and Religion; against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to bee gained against so pregnant light, as, in that point, shine's on My understanding.

For I conceiv, that, *where the Scripture is not clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.*

§ 5. I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyte-

what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend
, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for That,
edly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to
rogate and quite abrogate the Autoritie of that
ient Order, I think it neither just as to Episco-
cie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie wale
venient for this Church or State.

6. A due reformation had easily followed mo-
te Counsils, and such (I believ) as would have
n more content even to the most of those Di-
s who have been led on with much Gravitie and
malitie, to carrie on other men's designs; which,
doubt, manie of them by this time discover,
ough they dare not but smother their frustrations
discontents.

7. The specious and popular titles of *Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter*, and *Kingdom* (which
inly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their
es now have, at least) also the noise of a *thorough-
rmation*, these may as easily bee fixed on new
dels, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured
es.

8. The *breaking of Church-windows*, which Time
sufficiently defaced; *pulling down of Crosses*,
h were but civil, not Religious marks; *defacing
the Monuments* and Inscriptions of the Dead,
ich served but to put Posteritie in minde to thank
d for that clearer light wherein they live: The
*ving of all Ministers to their liberties and private
dities* in the publick service of God, where no
ristian can tell to what he may saie *Amen*; nor
at adventure hee may make of seeming (at least) to
sent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous
decencies, which bold and ignorant men list to
in their Praiers, Preaching, and other Offices:
e setting forth also of old Catechisms and Con-
ions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if
e had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith
this Church, before som four or five years consul-

tation had matured their thoughts, touching the first Principles of Religion:

§ 9. All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and to give some short flashes of content to *the Vulgar, who are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies, verie much, but not verie long*: But all this among not to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of Churche's thorough-Reformation; since they left all things more deformed, disorderlie, and contented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

§ 10. Nor can they easily recompens or repair the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, til due remedies bee applied.

I wish they would, at last, make it their serious work to do God's work, and not their own. Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

§ 11. But *som men* thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so manie Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and All My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of *Christ*'s *Spirit* for meekness, wisdom, and charitie in men's hearts, as there was of His *Name* used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christ's Rule, they would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glorie, the Churche's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

§ 12. *Publick Reformers had need first to be private, and practise that on their own hearts which they purpose to trie on others*; for Deformities with-

w-

ill soon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reforma-
ons to such *private designs* as *must needs hinder the*
ublick good.

I am sure *the right Methods of Reforming the*
hurch cannot consist with that of perturbing the
ivil State; nor can Religion bee justly advanced
y oppressing Loialtie, which is one of the chiefest In-
redients and Ornaments of true Religion; for,
ext to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King.*

§ 13. I doubt not but *Christ's Kingdom may bee*
up without pulling down Mine; nor will anie men
impartial times appear good Christians, that ap-
rove not themselvs good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not over-
throw it; since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire
rule for His Glorie, and His Churche's good.

Had *som men* truly intended *Christ's Government*,
knew what it meant in their hearts, they could ne-
have been so il-governed in their words and acti-
ns, both against Mee and one another.

§ 14. As *good ends cannot justifie evil means*; so
will evil beginings ever bring forth good con-
sions; unless GOD, by a miracle of Mercie,
ate Light out of Darkness, Order out of our Con-
sions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely can'st give us beautie for
shes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; *suffer us not to bee*
serably deluded with Pharisaical washings, in stead
Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within; *make us the se-*
verest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls:
That wee may in clearness of Judgment, and u-
prightness of heart bee a means to reform what is indeed
miss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right
irits within us; *that wee may do all by Thy direc-*
n, to Thy glorie, and with Thy blessing.

Pitie the deformities which som rash and cruel Re-

formers have brought upon this Church and Sta
Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, u
the pretens of Reforming.

As Their haſt ſhewed the world, by their diviſi
and confuſions, what is the prævitie of ſom
intentions, and weakneſs of their judgments; ſo h
on at leaſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the mat
of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations: wh
nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetouſneſs, or S
lege, may have anie influence upon their co
whom Thy Providence in juſt and lawful waies
entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſ
work: that I and My people maybee ſo bleſt w
inward Pietie, as may beſt teach us how to uſe
bleſſing of outward Peace.

21. *Upon His Majeſtie's Letters ta and divulged.*

THe *taking of My Letters* was an opportuni
which, as the malice of Mine Enemies co
hardly have exſpected it, ſo, they knew not how w
Honor and Civilitie to uſe: Nor do I think, w
ſober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them co
tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious dir
ging of them did to the infamie of the Divulger
The greateſt experiments of Virtue and Noble
beeing diſcovered in the greateſt advantages aga
an enemie; and the greateſt obligations beeing tho
which are put upon us by them, from whom w
could leaſt have exſpected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concreal
of My Papers; The freedom and ſecreſie of wh
command's a civilitie from all man, not wholly ba
barous; nor is there anie thing more inhumane th
to expoſe them to Publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am conte
ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudie to approve
God

God's omniscience) should bee discovered to the world; without anie of those dresses or popular imitations which som men use in their Speeches and Expresses; *I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer light into My most retired thoughts.*

Where they might discover how they are divided betwixt the love and care I have, not more to preserv My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and Destroied.

Nor can anie men's malice bee gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. *Bees will gather honie, where the Spider sucks poison.*

§ 2. That I endevor to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who love's Mee or the Commonwealth; since *My Subjects can hardly bee happie, if I am miserable*; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppressed. The world may see how *som men's* design, like *Absalom's*, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie pardon them.

§ 3. The integritie of My intentions is not jealous of anie injurie My expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacie may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocencie of My chief purposes cannot bee so strained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happie composure of differences with Justice & Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie sparks of Love or Loialtie left in them: who, by those My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both minde and act

Mine own, and My kingdom's Affairs, so as becom a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwaids been verie loth should bee believed of Mee; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others whom they pleas to brand with the names of *Evil Counsellors*.

§ 4. It's probable som men will now look upon Mee as My own Counsellor; and, having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My self: Although I know they are verie unwilling I should enjoie that liberty of My own thoughts, or follow that light of My own Conscience, which they labor to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselvs; not allowing Mee to think their Counsels to bee other then good for Mee, which have so long maintained a War against Mee.

§ 5. The Victorie they obtained that daie, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popular glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus; as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect. As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

§ 6. But I see *no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.*

§ 7. They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loialtie to Mee, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties; which *som men* seek to overthrow: *The taking away of My Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms*; First I must seem neither fit

to

to Live, nor worthie to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and crueltie, I must bee compelled, first, to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then bee destroied: But I know God's un-erring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemie's thoughts and actions to My good.

§ 8. Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost anie more then so manie Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to bee paid to all men, and most becom's such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they ow to their KING, present and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them som *secret impressions of that shame and dishonor*, which *attend's unworthie actions, have they never so much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.*

§ 9. I am sure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noah*'s Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Cham*'s impudencie, or exempt him from that curs of beeing *Servant of servants*; which *curs must needs bee on them who seek by dishonorable actions to pleas the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.*

§ 10. Nor can their malitious intentions bee ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose Mee to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that Dutie of modest concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in case they had discovered anie real uncomlines; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as he did *David*) more respected in the hearts of manie,

to

to whom they thought, by publishing My priv
Letters, to have rend'red Mee as a vile Person, u
fit to bee trusted, or considered, under anie notion
Majestie.

But Thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposi
providence ordereth the greatest contingencies of h
mane affairs, make Mee to see the constancie of T
Mercies to Mee, in the greatest advantages Thou se
est to give the malice of My Enemies against Mee.

As Thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel
turning it to David's good, and his own ruine; so can
Thou defeat their design, who intended by publish
My private letters, nothing els, but to render M
more odious and contemptible to My people.

I must first appeal to Thy Omniscience, who can
witness with My integritie, how unjust and fa
those scandalous mis-constructions are, which M
enemies endevour by these Papers of Mine to repres
to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure the
intended thereby, against Mee, so to return on the
own heads, that they may bee ashamed, and cover
with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou see'st how Mine Enemies use all means t
cloud Mine Honor, to pervert My purposes, and t
slander the foosteps of Thine Anointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee dishonored
for thy sake, and Thy Church's good.

Fix in Mee a purpose to honor Thee, and then I
know Thou wilt honor Mee; either by restoring to Me
the enjoiment of that Power and Majestie, which
Thou hast suffered som men to seek to deprive Mee of;
or by bestowing on Mee that crown of Christian pa-
tience, which know's how to serv Thee in honor, or
dishonor, in good report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and
honor; Thou art clothed with excellent Majestie;
make Mee to partake of Thy excellencie for wisdom,
justice,

Or

ustice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honor and Majestie, which becom's the Place in which Thou hast set Mee; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by Thy Grace, lead Mee to Thy Glorie, which is both true and eternal.

---

22. *Upon His Majestie's leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath giv'n Mee three Kingdoms, yet in these Hee hath not now left Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and Honor rest *My Head:* Shewing Mee that Himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defens, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much, as to God; Hee will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My self, and My now distressed Affairs upon His Mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

§ 2. What *Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence:* Necessitie is now My Counsellor, and command's Mee to studie My safetie by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loialtie, who first began My Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This *My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcom Them:* My rend'ring My Person to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Mee, but for Mee.*

§ 3. I must now resolv the *riddle of their Loialtie;* and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they saie.

Yet must God bee My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Comforter;

Though

Though I put My Bodie into their hands, yet I shall reserv My Soul to God, and My self: nor shall any necessities compel Mee to desert Mine Honor, or swerv from My Judgment.

§ 4. What they sought to take by Force, shall now bee giv'n them in such a waie of unusual Confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to bee really such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God see's it not enough to deprive Mee of all Militarie power to defend My self; but to put Mee upon using their power, who seem to fight against Mee, yet ought in Dutie to defend Mee.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

§ 5. I must now leav those that have Adhered to Mee, and applie to those that have Opposed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds alreadie made: and in it I am no less solicitous for My Friend's safetie, then Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loialtie to all extremities.

It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Soul's libertie, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, nor Arms, to have perswaded My Consent to their New Demands.

§ 6. I thank God, no success darken's, or disguise's Truth to Mee; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loial Subjects, *full of Power.*

§ 7. *Reason is the divinest Power.* I shall never think

think My self weak'ned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light; *What God hath denied of outward strength, His Grace, I hope, will supplie with inward Resolutions*; not morosely to denie, what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie.

I shall never think My self less then My self while I am able thus to preserv the Integritie of My Conscience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, Mine eies are towards Thee; To the protection of Thy Mercie I still commend My self.

As Thou hast preserved Mee in the daie of Battel; Thou can'st still shew Mee Thy strength in My weakness.

But Thou unto Mee in My darkest night, a Pillar of Fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the daie of My hottest affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud to overshadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not anie perversness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Mee thus far to hazard My Person, Peace, and Safetie, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not My just Resolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompanie Mee, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reason, and that fortress of My Soul, which I am entrusted with to keep for Thee.

Lead Mee in the paths of Thy Righteousness, and shew Mee Thy Salvation.

Make My waies to please Thee, and then Thou wilt make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with Mee.

23. Upon

23. *Upon the* Scot's *delivering the* KING *to the* Englisſh; *and His Captivitie at* Holmbie.

——YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the World in this, That *they have not deceived Mee*; for *I never truſted to them further, then to men*: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorie they ſhould do it; and that My price ſhould bee ſo much above My Saviour's.

Theſe are but further Eſſaies, which God will have Mee make of man's uncertaintie; the more to fix Mee on Himſelf, who *never faileth them that truſt in Him*: Though the *Reeds of Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them; yet the *Rock of Iſrael* will bee an everlaſting ſtaie and defence.

§ 2. God's Providence command's Mee to retire from all to Himſelf, that in Him I may enjoie All; in ſelf; whom I loſe, while I let out My hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, give's Mee leiſure enough to ſtudie the world's vanitie and inconſtancie.

God ſee's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly His, who alone is All.

§ 3. I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

§ 4. *No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soul in ſin, nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed, or My Actions accurſed.*

They have no great cauſ to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their power; ſince My Soul is ſtill My own: Nor ſhall they ever gain My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What

What they call Obſtinacie, I know God accounts honeſt Conſtancie; from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Mee to recede.

§ 5. 'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Counſellors with Mee, but a good Conſcience in Mee, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what *ſom men* deſire, I ſhould bee ſuch as they wiſh Mee: not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtein, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which, though it have as little of ſafetie to a Prince, yet hath it not more of danger.

§ 6. *The fear of men ſhall never bee My ſnare; nor will the love of anie libertie entangle My Soul: Better others betraie Mee, then My ſelf; and that the price of My Libertie ſhould bee My Conſcience:* The greateſt injuries My Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own conſent.

While I can denie with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Mee but this, that I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroie My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould Deſtroie Mee, yet they ſhall have no cauſ to Deſpiſe Mee.

§ 7. *Neither libertie, nor life are ſo dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People*; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all.

The Laws will, by God's bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loialtie of My Subjects, if I burie them not by My Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonor and injuſtice, which *ſom men's* violence hath digged for them.

If

If My captivitie, or death must bee the price of their redemption, I grudg not to paie it.

§ 8. *No condition can make a King miserable which carrie's not with it his Soul's, his People's, and Posteritie's thraldom.*

After-times may see, what the blindeness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that *I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them*; haply I might redeem My self to some shew of libertie, if I would consent to enslave them: *I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them*; from whom I praie God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee, whose solitude hath not left Mee alone.

For Thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, art with Mee; Whose presence is better then life, and Whose service is perfect freedom.

Own Mee for Thy Servant, and I shall never have caus to complain for want of that libertie, which becom's a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless Mee still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.

Though Thou sufferest Mee to bee strippt of all outward ornaments; yet preserv Mee ever in those enjoiments, wherein I may enjoie Thy self; and which cannot bee taken from Mee against My will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over My passion to anie impatience, or sordid fears.

There bee manie saie of Mee, There is no help for Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of Thy Countenance upon Mee, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give Mee that measure of Patience and Constancie, which My condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My Person restrained: O bee not

Thou

Thus far from Mee, lest My Enemies prevail too much against Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a scorn to manie: O bee Thou My Helper and Defendor.

Shew som token upon Mee for good, that they that hate Mee, may bee ashamed, because Thou Lord hast holpen and comforted Mee: establish Mee with Thy free Spirit, that I may do and suffer Thy Will, as Thou wouldst have Mee.

Bee mercifull to Mee, O Lord, for My Soul trusteth in Thee: yea, and in the shadow of Thy wings will I make My refuge until these calamities bee over-past.

Arise to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O My God. Though Thou killest Mee, yet will I trust in Thy Mercie, and My Saviour's merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though Thou leadest Mee through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendence of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and secular Attendents, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendence of som of My *Chaplains*; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have caus to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Prayers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to sustein the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and use of them in God's good time: so reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amid'st the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The

The solitude, they have confined Mee unto, and the Wilderness to My temptations; For *the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more sad then anie solitude can bee.*

§ 2. If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where *the evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation:* But to denie Mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors; whom, though the *Justice of the Law* deprive's them of worldlie comforts, yet the *Mercie of Religion* allow's the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroie their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discrete Divine: and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They, that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things els, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sens Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendence of som of My Chaplains.

§ 3. I have somtime thought the Unchristianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure som men had to see Mee prefer My *own Divines* before *their Ministers:* whom, though I respect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think so proper for anie present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that *Devotional compliance* and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; since, their judgments standing at a distance from Mee; or in jealousie of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose *golden Rule*, and bond of Perfection consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

§ 4. *Som Remedies are worse then the Diseas; and som Comforters more miserable then Miserie it self;* when, like *Job*'s friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to despair of God's Mercie; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

§ 5. I am so much a Friend to all Church men, that have anie thing in them beseeming that Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintein their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as *Orphans*, and under the *Sacrilegious eies* of manie cruel and *rapacious Reformers*; I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandsomly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, then their own *ungrateful errors*, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pitie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choif of som for My special Attendents, who were best approved in My judgment, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's praiers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with

with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue saie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.

§ 6. *In Devotions I love neither Profane boldness nor Pious non-sens*; but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shew's the Speaker to bee at once considerate of Gods Majestie, the Churche's Honor, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercie for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all praiers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting Humilitie to God, or Charitie to men, or Respect to the Dutie.

§ 7. I confess I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons; so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churche's and everie Christian's dailie and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may soe My heart unto, then I can bee of anie man's extemporarie sufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occasions; so I allow its full libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness as to the outward manner of performance. Though *the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant and occasional, solitarie and social Devotions*;

So that I must needs seem to all equal minded with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the *Liturgie* before their *Directorie*.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet should I not by that as by anie certain Rule and Cannon of Devotion, bee able

ble to follow or finde out the indirect extravagan-
ces of most of those men, who highly crie up that as
a piece of rare composure and use, which is alreadie
so much despised and disused by manie of them, as
the Common Prayer sometimes was by those men, a
great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular
vein of railing against, and contemning the Govern-
ment and Liturgie of this Church. But *I had rather*
be condemned to the woe of Væ soli; *then to that of* Væ
vobis, Hypocritæ, *by seeming to praise what I do not*
approve.

§ 8. It may bee, I am esteemed by My Deniers
sufficient of My self to discharge My dutie to God as
a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal,
might well becom the same Person; as anciently they
were under one name, and the united rights of Pri-
mogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents,
if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David*,
and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters
and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and
Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preach-
ings; whence the one merited and assumed the name
of a *Prophet*; the other of a *Preacher*: Titles indeed
of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of
those the Romane Emperors affected from the Nati-
ons they subdued: it *beeing infinitely more glorious*
to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to
conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of God's Wisdom and Provi-
dence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished
the gifts and offices of Kings and Priests, of Princes
and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian
Churches, I am sorrie to finde My self reduced to
the necessitie of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For such, as seek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie
Power and Sovereigntie, would no less enforce Mee
to live manie Months without all Prayers, Sacraments,
and Sermons, unless I becom My own Chaplain.

§ 9. As

§ 9. As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Chri-
stian King; so I desire to enjoie from them the be-
nefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upo
as more prevalent then My own, or other men's;
how much they flow from mindes more enlightne
and affections less distracted, then those which are
comb'red with Secular Affairs: besides, I think
greater blessing and acceptableness attend's those D
ties, which are rightly performed, as proper to,
within the limits of that Calling, to which God
the Church have specially designed and Consecra
sommen: And however, as to that Spiritual Gove
ment, by which the devout Soul is subject to Chri
and through his Merits daily offer's it self and it
services to God, *Everie private believer is a K
and Priest*, invested with the honor of a Roial Pri
hood, yet, as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the o
ward Politie of the Church, I think *Confusion in
ligion will as certainly follow everie man's tur
Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where
rie one affect's to rule as King.*

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, m
pious Principles: the consciousness to My spiri
defects make's Mee more prize and desire those p
assistances, which holie and good Ministers, either
shops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; especially
these extremities, to which God hath been pleased
suffer som of My Subjects to reduce Mee; so as
leav them nothing more, but My life to take fr
Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to desire, which
thought might less provoke their jealousie and off
to denie Mee, then this of having som means afford
Mee for My soul's comfort and support.

To which end I made choise of men, as no wa
(that I know) scandalous; so everie waie emine
for their Learning and Pietie, no less then for the
Loialtie: nor can I imagine anie exceptions to b
made against them but onely this, That they may see
too able and too wel-affected toward Mee and My
service. But

but this is not the first service (as I count it the
left) in which they have forced Mee to serv My self;
though I must confess I *bear with more grief and im-*
patience the want of My Chaplains, then of anie other
My Servants; and next (if not beyond in som
things) to the beeing sequestred from My Wife and
children; since from these, indeed, more of humane
but temporarie affections; but from those, more of
heavenlie and eternal improvements may bee ex-
pected.

§ 10. My comfort is, that *in the enforced* (not
neglected) *want of ordinarie means, God is wont to af-*
ford extraordinarie supplies of his gifts and graces.
If his Spirit will teach Mee and help My Infirmi-
ties in praier, reading and meditation, (as I hope bee
will) I shall need no other, either Orator, or In-
structer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct My now-
ordinarie praiers; what I want of other's help, supplie
by the more immediate assistances of Thy Spirit;
which alone can both enlighten My darkness, and
awaken My dulness.
O Thou Sun of Righteousness, Thou sacred Fountain
of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm My
soul, both by instructing of Mee, and interceeding for
Mee: In Thee is all fulness; from Thee is all-suffici-
encie; by Thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie
enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee also
My Prophet, and My Priest: Rule Mee, Teach Mee,
Save Mee, for Mee; and bee Thou ever with Mee.
The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with Thee,
in that sacred Duel, when hee had none to second him
but Thy self; who didst assist him with power to over-
come Thee, and by a welcom violence to wrest a blessing
from Thee.
O look on Mee Thy Servant, in infinite Mercie,
as Thou didst once bless with the joint and serio-
Devotions of others; whose fervencie might inflame

the coldnesse of My Affections towards Thee, when we went to, or met in Thy House, with the voice of joie and gladnes, worshipping Thee in the Unitie of Spirit, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happie opportunities.

It is now Thy pleasure that I should bee as a Pelican in the Wildernesse; as a Sparrow on the house-top; and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve and increase the holie fire of Thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence the Sacrifice of Praiers, and Incense of Praises, might bee duly offered up to Thee.

Yet, O Thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weakness of My Praiers, nor the smotherings of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneneſs, to which I am confined by some men's uncharitable denials of those helps which I much want, and no less desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softnings of Mine to Thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My praiers to Thee. Let their inexorable deafness incline Thine ear to mee; who art a God easie to bee entreated; Thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor Thy hearing dull that it will not hear; nor Thy hand short'ned, that it cannot help mee Thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive mee of those outward means, which Thou hast appointed in Thy Church but they cannot debar mee from the communion of the inward grace, which Thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make mee such, and Thou wilt teach mee; Thou wilt hear mee; Thou wilt help mee: The broken and contrite heart, I know, Thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, can'st at once make mee Thy Temple, Thy Priest, Thy Sacrifice, and Thine Altar while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up

holie meditations, fervent praiers, and unfeined tears, self to Thee; who preparest mee for Thee, dwellest mee, and acceptest of mee.

Thou, O Lord, did'st cause, by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend; nor the little oil in the cruise of the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which, as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths, I have formerly learned, now fail my memorie; nor the sweet infusions of Thy Spirit, which I have somtime felt, now are wanting to my Heart, in this famine of ordinarie and wholsom food, for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, then to feed from those lands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching mee: whose mouths are prone to bitter reproaches of mee; then to heartie praiers for mee.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest my Holie Scriptures to my destruction, which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation: O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how som men, under color of long praiers, have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those men's balms break my head; nor their Cordials oppress my heart; I will evermore pray against their wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver mee, O Lord, and all those Loial and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperitie of my soul, and who seek by their praiers to remove this sadness and solitude of Thy servant, O my King, and my God.

25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at *Holmbie.*

Give ear to My words, O Lord, consider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My cry, My King and My God, for unto Thee will I pray. I said, in My haste, I am cast out of the sight of Thine eies; nevertheless Thou hearest the voice of My supplication, when I crie unto Thee.

If Thou, Lord, should'st bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with Thee that Thou maiest bee feared, therefore shall sinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My sins before Thee, which have no aggravation of My condition, the eminencie of My Place adding weight to My offences.

Forgive, I beseech Thee, My Personal and My People's sins; which are so far Mine, as I have not improved the power Thou gavest Mee, to Thy Glory and My Subjects good; Thou hast now brought Mee from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Prisoner to My own Subjects; Justly, O Lord, as to Thy over-ruling hand, because in manie things I have rebelled against Thee.

Though Thou hast restrained My Person, yet enlarge My heart to Thee, and Thy grace towards Mee.

I come far short of David's pietie; yet since I have equal David's afflictions, give mee also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, bee an evidence to mee, that Thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto Thee; though Thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn Thee (O Lord) unto mee; have mercie upon
me, for I am desolate and afflicted.
The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring
thou mee out of my troubles.
Hast Thou forgotten to bee gracious, and shut up
thy loving kindeneß in displeasure?
O remember Thy compassions of old, and Thy loving
kindenesses, which have been for manie generations.
I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see
thy goodneß in the land of the living.
Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the
fruit of Thy afflictions.
Let this fierie trial consume the droß, which in
the peace and plentie wee had contracted.
Though Thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not
thy grace: what is wanting of prosperitie, make up
in patience and repentance.
And if Thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away,
but Thy hand of Justice must bee stretched out still;
so it, I beseech Thee, bee against mee, and my Fa-
thers house; as for these sheep, what have they don?
Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine and
my Churche's enemies.
But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of
my charitie.
Baniſh from mee all thoughts of Revenge, that I
may not loſe the reward, nor Thou the glorie of my
patience.
As Thou givest mee a heart to forgive them; so, I
beseech Thee, do Thou forgive what they have don
against Thee and mee.
And now, O Lord, as Thou hast given Mee an
heart to praie unto Thee; so hear and accept this Vow,
which I make before Thee.
If Thou wilt in mercie remember mee, and my
Kingdoms, in continuing the light of Thy Gospel, and
planting Thy true Religion among us:
In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the
due execution of Justice;

In suppressing the manie Schisms in Church, a
Factions in State:

If Thou wilt restore mee and mine to the Anci
rights and glorie of my Predecessors:

If Thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to T
self in Pietie, to mee in Loialtie, and to one ano
in Charitie:

If Thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw
fewel of these Civil Wars:

If Thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of Publ
Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments fr
the insolencie of the vulgar:

If Thou wilt keep mee from the great offens
enacting anie thing against my Conſcience;
especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapins
spoilings of the Church:

If Thou wilt restore Mee to a capacitie to glo
Thee in doing good, both to the Church and State;

Then shall my soul praiſ Thee, and magnifie T
Name before my People:

Then shall Thy Glorie bee dearer to mee then
Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion
in purity and power bee my chiefeſt care:

Then will I rule my people with Juſtice, and
Kingdoms with equitie:

To Thy more immediate hand shall I ever on
the rightfull succeſſion, so the merciful restaurati
of my Kingdoms, and the glorie of them:

If Thou wilt bring mee again with Peace, Safti
and Honor, to my chiefeſt Citie, and my Parliament

If Thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice in
my hand to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and m
verie enemies to enjoie the benefit of this Vow and re
solution of Christian Charitie, which I now make un
to Thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those tha
have offended mee in anie kinde; so my hand sha
never bee against anie man to revenge what is pa

in regard of anie particular injurie don to mee.

Wee have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, that I will use all means in the waies of amnestie *and indemnitie, which may most fully remove all fears, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulness.*

Let Thy mercies bee toward mee and mine, as my solutions of Truth and Peace are toward my people.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed bee God, who hath not turned awaie my prayer; nor taken His mercie from mee.

O my Soul, commit Thy waie to the Lord, trust in Him, and Hee shall bring it to pass.

But if Thou wilt not restore mee and mine, what am I that I should charge Thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and Thou hast taken, blessed bee Thy Name.

May my People and Thy Church bee happie, if not by mee, yet without mee.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surprizal of the* KING *at* Holmbie, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Armie, and the Citie.*

WHat part God will have Mee now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, am not much solicitous; *Som little practice will* [illegible] *that Man, who onely seek's to represent a part of* Honestie *and* Honor.

This surprize of Mee tell's the world, that *a King cannot bee so low, but Hee is considerable*; adding weight to that Partie where Hee appear's.

This motion, like other's of the Times, seem's

excentrick and irregular, yet not well to bee resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed; the younger striving to prevail against the elder: what the *Presbyterians* have hunted after, the *Independents* now seek to catch for themselvs.

So impossible is it for lines to bee drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and sound's too like the furie of those Zealots, whose intestine bitternes and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Citie.

§ 2. Well may I change My keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the People's Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Libertie of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to Mee.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the *Presbyterian* rigor, who, somtimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are becom the greatest Exactors of other men's submission to their novel Injunctions, before they are stamped with the Autoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

§ 3. 'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselvs manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carrie on a business of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armie's custodie, without anie Commission, but that of their own Will and Power. *Such as will thus adventure*

a King, muſt not bee thought over-modeſt, or ri-
orous to carrie on anie deſign they have a minde to.

§ 4. Their next motion menace's and ſcare's both the two Houſes and the Citie: which, ſoon after, falling over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented of) muſt now ſuffer for both, and ſee their former ſin in the glaſs of the preſent terrors and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blinde as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; they, that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now bee chaſtened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

§ 5. So *hardly can men bee content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the later puniſh the former;* ſuch as were content to ſee Mee and manie Members of both Houſes driven away by the unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie to defend themſelys againſt them.

But who can unfold the *Riddle of ſom men's Juſtice?* The Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the violeneſs of the Tumults, were counted *Deſertors*, and outed of their places in Parliament: Such as ſtaied then, and enjoied the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men.

Now the *Fliers from*, and *Forſakers* of their Places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelys by an Armie: Such as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as *Abettors* of tumultuarie inſolencies, and *Betraiers* of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

§ 6. Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent advantages then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelys.

Now the plea againſt Tumults hold's good; the Autors and Abettors of them are guiltie of prodi-

gious insolencies; when as, before they were counte as Friends and necessarie Assistants.

§ 7. I see vengeance pursue's and overtake's (a the Mice and Rats are said to have don a Bishop i *Germanie*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselvs most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

§ 8. I cannot but observ this Divine Justice, yea with sorrow and pitie; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorrie to see them do or suffer anie thing unworthie such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loialtie to Mee; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I praie God the storm bee yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My praiers and tears, with compassionate grief, fore-seeing those severe scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to bee gathered to their dutie. *Fatal blindeness frequently attending and punishing wilful*; so that *men shall not bee able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timelie repent of their sins*; nor shall they bee suffered to enjoie the *comforts*, who securely neglect the *counsels* belonging to their peace. They will finde that *Brethrin in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies*; there beeing *nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.*

Not is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of phansie, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publick consistencie; whither I praie God at last bring all sides.

Which

Which will easily bee don, when wee shall fully see how much more happie wee are, to bee subject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of anie men, seem they never so plausible at first.

§ 9. *Vulgar compliance* with anie illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in Nature, soon grow's wearie of it self, and end's in a refractorie sullennes: People's rebound's are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the *Armie* (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles and interests, demanding Paie and Indemnitie) I think it necessarie, in order to the Publick peace, that they should bee satisfied, as far as is just; no man beeing more prone to consider them then My self: though they have fought against Mee, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valor and gallantrie they have somtime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintein My self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a Peace, as wherein they may enjoie their share and proportion as much as anie men.

But Thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unitie in a sacred Trinitie, in mercie behold those, whom Thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver mee from the strivings of my People, and make mee to see how much they need my praiers and pitie, who agree'd to fight against mee, and yet are now readie to fight against one another, to the continuance of my Kingdom's distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of Peace, from which they have swerved: which consist's not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joint and due observation of the Laws.

Make mee willing to go whither Thou wilt lead mee by Thy Providence; and bee Thou ever with mee, that I may see Thy Constancie in the world's varietie and changes.

Make mee even such as Thou would'st have mee, that

that I may at last enjoie that safetie and tranquillitie which Thou alone canst give mee.

Divert, I praie Thee, O Lord, Thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plentie is prone to add fewel to their luxurie; their wealth to make them wanton; their multitudes tempting them to securitie; and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eies to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to Thy glorie and the publick Peace; lest their calamitie com upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they bee long un-disarmed and un-destroied, who, with a high hand persisting to fight against Thee and the clear convictions of their own Consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against mee.

Their sins exposing them to Thy Justice, their riches to other's injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnes helped to destroie mee, yet let not my fall bee their ruine.

Let mee not so much consider, either what they have don, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to praie to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied mee in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the less they weep for mee, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood bee upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of som, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie mee.

But Thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as Thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect mee by my sufferings, which have more in them of Thy mercie, then of man's cruelties, or Thy own justice.

27. To

tus Maii 29: An°. 1630 Ætatis suæ 19

27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn! if these Papers, with som others, wherein I have set down the private *reflections of My conscience*, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may bee so far useful to You, as to state Your judgment in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can bee made; And they may also give You som directions, how to remedie the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to com.

§ 2. It is som kinde of deceiving and lessening the injurie of My long restraint, when I finde My leisure and solitude have produced somthing worthie of My self, and useful to You; that neither You, nor anie other, may hereafter *measure My Cause by the Success*; nor *My Judgment of things by My fortunes*; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and som others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sens then of Mine own.

§ 3. But this advantage of *wisdom* You have above most Princes; that You have begun, and now spent som years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of Patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Moral and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, then in warmth and serenitie of times; o mid'st those delights, which usually attend Prince's courts in times of Peace and Plentie; which are one, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor; or to bee contented onely with som dry, and withering formalities of them, without anie

anie real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born and by Providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holie Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by manie afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other soft'ned by the unparaliel'd prosperitie of *Solomon's* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatterers, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drive's away.

§ 4. I had rather You should bee *Charls le Bon*, than *le Grand*; Good, then Great; I hope God hath designed You to bee both; having so early put You into that exercise of His Graces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vitious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princelie indowments, and emploiments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

§ 5. *With God I would have You begin and end*, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignitie You can attein to, is, to bee subject to Him; that the Scepter of His Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

§ 6. *The true glorie of Princes consist's in advancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Church's Good*; Also in *the dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honor, to the Publick Peace.*

Piete will make You prosperous; *at least it will keep You from beeing miserable*; nor is hee much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happines, God (I trust) hath

hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which Hee hath been pleased to draw on Mee, and by which Hee hath (I hope) drawn Mee nearer to Himself. You have alreadie tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I look upon as God's Physick, having that in healthfulness which it want's in pleasure.

§ 7. Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are alreadie, well-grounded and settled in Your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written; that it may bee judiciously *Your own Religion*, and not *other men's customs or traditions* which You profess.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with som little amendment, which I have * otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more necessarie for Your Souls then Your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring You to them.

* *Pag.* 99. &c.

For I have observed, that *the Devil of Rebellion hath commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation*; and the old Serpent can pretend new lights: When som men's Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Pietie plead's for Peace and Patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You bee well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroie You and Yours, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion: for that seem's even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious begining of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affecta-

tion,

tion, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severitie of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

§ 8. *Take heed of abetting anie Factions*, or applying to anie publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, and the Churche's well settled; *Your partial adhering, as Head, to anie one Side, gain's You not so great advantages in som men's hearts* (who *are prone to lik of their King's Religion*) *as it loseth You in others*; who think themselvs and their profession first despised, then persecuted by You: Take such a course as may either with calmness and charitie quite remove the seeming differences and offenses by impartialitie; or *so order affairs in point of Power, that You shall not need to fear or flatter anie Faction*. For, if ever You stand in need of them, or must stand to their Courtesie, You are undon: The Serpent will devour the Dove: *You may never expect less of Loialtie, Justice, or Humanitie, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion*: Their interest is alwaies made God's; *under the Colors of Pietie, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest securitie, but applaus, as to the populacie*; You may hear from them *Jacob*'s voice, but You shall feel they have *Esau*'s hands.

§ 9. Nothing seemed less considerable then the *Presbyterian* Faction in *England*, for manie years; so compliant they were to Publick order; nor indeed was their Partie great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as soon as discontents drew men into Sidings, as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which causse's inflammations, so did all at first, who affected anie Novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants

vants to *Presbyterie*, their great Master: till time and militarie succes, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes; and, leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion; they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of Profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

§ 10. Let *nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Churche's Peace*, so as to neglect a speedie reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as a hand-breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

§ 11. When You have don Justice to God, Your own Soul and His Church, in the Profession and preservation both of Truth and Unitie in Religion; the next main hinge on which Your prosperitie will depend and move, is, That of *Civil Justice*, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules You can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subjects's industrie, libertie, and happines; and yet reserv enough to the Majestie and prerogative of anie King, who own's his People as Subjects, not as slaves; whose subjection, as it reserv's their Propertie, Peace, and Safetie, so *it will* never diminish Your Rights, nor their *ingenuous Liberties*: which *consist in the enjoiment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.*

§ 12. Never charge Your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavines oppres the whole Bodie, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruine.

§ 13. Your *Prerogative* is best shewed and exercised

in

in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there beeing *nothing worſ then Legal Tyrannie.*

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproach of My ſufferings, as to the world's cenſure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the Teſtimonie of My own Conſcience; the Troublers *of My Kingdoms having nothing elſ to object againſt Mee but this, That I preſer Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe Alterations they propounded.*

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hithertō have been chiefly uſed towards Mee, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will Ton, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Intereſt, and the Good of the Communitie.

§ 14. How God will deal with Mee, as to the removal of theſe preſſures and indignities, which His Juſtice, by the verie unjuſt hands of ſom of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from Men, while I retein in My ſoul, what I believ is right before *God.*

§ 15. I have offered all for Reformation & Safetie, that in Reaſon, Honor, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall, in His due time, after My deceaſ, bring You, as I hope hee will, My Counſel and Charge to You is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former real, or objected miſcarriages, which

which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

§ 16. Never repose so much upon anie man's single counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your Self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then anie man's.

§ 17. Next, beware of exasperating anie Factions by the crosness, and asperitie of *some men's* passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein *a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dispate's their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifie's*; and put's the despised and oppressed Partie into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their *Persecutors*, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attend's all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

§ 18. Alwaies keep up *Solid Pietie*, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that *outward circumstances* and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eie, and impartial hand, distribute favors and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will bee sure to gain You the hearts of the best

best and the most too; *though they bee not good themselvs, yet are glad to see the severer waies of Virtu at anie time sweetned by temporal rewards.*

§ 19. I have, You see, conflicted with different and oppositt Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in anie conformitie to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemie, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as set's them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonist.

§ 20. *Time will dissipate all Factions*, when once the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselvs; which were at first wrap't up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: *As the Wolf is not less cruel, so hee will bee more justly hated, when hee shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.*

But as for the *seduced Train of the Vulgar*, who in their simplicitie follow those disguises, My Charge and Counsel to You is, that, as You need no palliations for anie Designs, (as other men) so You studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of Goodness, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People: who cannot in Reason promise themselvs so much good from anie Subjects Novelties, as from the virtuous constancie of their King.

§ 21. When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the Sun-shine of God's Mercie, and the splendor of Your virtues, bee thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that *None*

are

as greater Oppressors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences then those men, that entitle themselvs the Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betraie You to anie studie of Revenge upon those, whose own sin and follie will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, *use all Princely Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds*; that the smart of the Cure may not equal the anguish of the Hurt.

§ 22. I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselvs to bee anie waie obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serv to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propens to the same waie; whenever it shall bee desired and accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an Act of State-Policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie and Choise.

§ 23. *It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to forgive those, that have deprived Mee of all*; and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it; and joie as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n Mee, as in My former enjoiements; for *this is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee, then anie prosperitie can bee.*

Bee confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have don amiss, have don so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

§ 24. None will bee more loial and faithful to Mee and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make som reparations for their former defects.

§ 25. As Your qualitie set's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject; so *the nobleness of Your*

minde

minde must rise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conscious You shall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to exspect all Love and Loialtie from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: *You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.*

§ 26. This I write to You not despairing of God's Mercie, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope, You will studie to deserv, yet Wee cannot merit of God, but by His own Mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore Mee, and You and Mee, to those enjoiments, which the Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I shall bee so happie to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never see My face again, and God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfecting *som inward* designs require's) wherein few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your *King*, that You never suffer Your heart to receiv the least check against, or dis-affection from *the true Religion established in the Church of England.*

I tell You, *I have tried it*, and after much search, and manie disputes, have concluded it *to bee the best in the world*; *not onely in the Communitie, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed*; *keeping the middle waie betwixt the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie.*

Not but that *(the draught being excellent* as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the

Church

Church of *England*) ſom *lines*, as in verie good figures, may haply need ſom ſweet'ning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been don by a ſafe and gentle hand; if *ſom men's* precipitancie had not violently demanded ſuch *rude Alteration*, as would have quite deſtroied all the Beautie and Proportions of the whole.

§ 27. The *ſcandal of the late Troubles*, which ſom may object and urge to You againſt Proteſtant-Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or Your own thoughts, in this, That *ſcarce one who hath been a Beginer, or an active Profeſſor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws, and Mee, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant-Religion, eſtabliſhed in England*: which neither give's ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.

'Tis true, *ſom* heretofore had the boldneſs to preſent threat'ning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but worſt Spirits) have now put in Execution: but *not counterfeit and diſorderlie Zeal abate Your value and eſteem of true Pietie*; both of them are to be *known by their fruits*: the ſweetneſs of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to bee deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain anie averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which, in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminiſh Your Greatneſs, but rather bee as interchangings of Love, Loialti Confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

§ 28. Nor would the events of this *BLACK PARLIAMENT* have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of Popular dictates, and tumultuarie impreſſions: The ill effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments

ments after this more cautious to preserv that Pre-
dom and Honor, which belong's to such Assembli-
(when once they have fully shaken off this *yoke*
Vulgar encroachment) since the Publick intere-
consist's in the mutual and common good both o-
Prince and People.

§ 29. Nothing can bee more happie for all, then
in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contribu-
their Counsels in Common, enacting all things b-
Publick Consent, without Tyrannie or Tumul-
Wee must not starv our selvs, becaus som men hav-
surfeited of wholsom food.

And if neither I, nor You, bee ever restored t-
Our Right, but God, in His severest Justice wil-
punish My Subjects with continuance in their s-
and suffer them to bee deluded with the prosper-
of their wickedness; I hope God will give Mee, a-
You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us,
want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is n-
worth taking up, or enjoying, upon sordid, dish-
norable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of Pietie, Virtue, a-
Honor; You shall never want a Kingdom.

§ 30. A principal point of Your Honor will co-
sist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protect-
to Your Mother My Wife, who hath manie wa-
deserved well of Mee, and chiefly in this, th-
(having been a means to bless Mee with so many
hopeful Children; all which, with their Mother,
commend to Your love and care) Shee hath be-
nt with incomparable magnanimitie and p-
to suffer both for, and with Mee, and You.

§ 31. My praier to God Almightie is, (whatev-
becom's of Mee, who am, I thank God, wrapt u-
and fortified in My own Innocencie, and His Gra-
that Hee would bee pleased to make You an Anchor
or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-
beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by Your Wisdom
Justice, Pietie, and Valor, of what the follie an-
wickednes

redneſs of *ſom men* have ſo far ruined, as to leav
ing entire in Church or State, to the Crown, the
bilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as
aws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honor, Con-
ce, or Lives.

§ 32. When they have deſtroied Mee, (for I
w not how far God may permit the malice and
lice of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch ap-
enſions *ſom men's* words and actions have al-
ie given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will
aloud for vengeance to Heaven; ſo I beſeech
not to pour out His wrath upon the generalitie
e People, who have either deſerted Mee, or
ed againſt Mee, through the Artifice and hy-
ſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horror will
their firſt Tormentor; nor will they eſcape
plarie judgments.

33. For thoſe that loved Mee, I praie God they
have no miſs of Mee, when I am gon; ſo much
h and hope, that all good Subjects may bee
ed with the bleſſings of Your preſence and
ce.

34. For thoſe that repent of anie defects in
Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in
ord of a Chriſtian King; ſo I believ Your will
them truly Zealous, to repaie, with intereſt, that
ie and love to You, which was Due to Mee.

35. In ſum, what good I intended, do You
rm, when God ſhall give You Power: much
I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and
, if times had been capable of it.

e deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards
fall off apace; *The Maſk of Religion on the
of Rebellion* (for ſo it now plainly appears ſince
Reſtraint and cruel uſage, that they fought not
Mee, as was pretended) *will not long ſerv to hide
men's deformities.*

appie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your
(by their miſeries) will have learned, *That*

Religion to their God, and Loialtie to their King cannot bee parted, without both their sin and their infelicitie.

§ 36. I praie God bless You and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your Honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloialtie perfected by My destruction, let My memorie ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You; and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms, whom GOD thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and *Government of*, but also with the Suffering manie indignities and an untimely Death *for* them; while I studied to preserv the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown, the privilege of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and *My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thousand Kingdoms.*

§ 37. I know God can, I hope Hee yet will restore Mee to My Rights. I cannot despair either of His Mercie, or of My People's love and pitie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Mee, and Mee for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

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28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His* MAJESTIE's *closer imprisonment in* Carisbrook-Castle.

AS I have leasure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare

y death: for I know there are but few steps be-
twixt the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.
It is God's indulgence, which give's Mee the
ce; but Man's crueltie, that give's Mee the sad
sions for these thoughts.
For, besides the common burthen of mortalitie,
ich lie's upon Mee, as a Man; I now bear the
vie load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies,
d cruel passions, whose envie, or enmitie against
e make's their own lives seem deadlie to them,
le I enjoie anie part of Mine.
§ 2. I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not
lly a Stranger to the contemplations of Mor-
ie:
hose are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies
rtain: Death beeing an eclipse, which oft
'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.
ut My now long and sharp adversitie hath so
nciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between
and Death, which are in all men; that, I thank
, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and
special horror of it, as to My particular, much
ed: for, although My death at present may
y bee represented to Mee with all those terrible
ravations, which the policie of cruel and im-
able enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing
n to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I bless God,
n look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous,
gh sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled
out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death
ft them; which, as to the immaturitie, un-
ce, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded
ever I can fear.
§ 3. Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of
gion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the
en wall of a judicious Integritie and constancie,
since I came to these closer conflicts with the
ghts of Death.
am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I

hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee somtime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That *it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to die daily*, in conquering, by a livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us over live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

§ 4. Though *as a King, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good will of My People*; for which as I have suffered manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroie, first, the Love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed they have left Mee but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee, having bereaved Mee of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seem's desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cause, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

§ 5. I know that, in point of true Christian valor, *it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life*; and I want of that Herdick greatness of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous suffering those *afflictions*, which *as shadows necessarily attend us*, while wee are in this bodie; and which are lessened or enlarged as the State of our prosperitie move's higher, or lower: whose

...al absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

§ 6. *The assaults of afflictions may bee terrible*, like Sampson's Lion, *but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcom them*; who know how to over-live the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet convert with God.

§ 7. That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the mid'st of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects beeing helpless spectators, My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane Reason, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwise, as to man's crueltie; however, I despair not of God's infinite Mercie.

I know My life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice; but yet under God's sole custodie and disposal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die, but I humbly desire to depend upon Him, and to submit to His will both in life and death, in what order soever Hee is pleased to laie them out to Mee. I confess it is not easie for Mee to contend with those manie horrors of death, wherewith God suffer's Mee to bee tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (beeing more solemnly cruel) will, it may bee, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockerie of Justice to the crueltie of Malice. That it may bee destroied, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with less pitie, it will bee but a necessarie policie to make My death appear as an *Act of Justice* done by Subject's upon their Sovereign; who know that *no Law of God or Man invest's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee, much less against*

Men: and who, being sworn and bound by a
that is sacred b fore God and man to endevour M
preservation, must *pretend Justice to cover* [illegible]
Perjurie.

§ 8. It is, indeed, a sad fate for anie man to have
his Enemies to bee Accusers, Parties, and Judges
but most desperate, when this is acted by the inso-
lence of Subjects against their Sovereign: where
those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most
guiltie of contriving the Publick Troubles, must by
shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands
of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most
evidently guiltie before God and man, and, I be-
liev, in their own consciences too; while they cry
ried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults,
after by Armies. *Nothing make's mean spirits so*
cowardly cruel in managing their usurped power
against their lawful Superiors, then the sense
of their unjust Usurpation; notwithstanding the
specious and popular pretensions of Justice against
Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the
monstrousness of their designs, who despaired, in-
deed, of possessing the power and profits of the
Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, bee cast
out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must bee, that I
would not either destroie My self with the Church
and State by My Word; or not suffer them to do
it, unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambi-
on no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either
satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think that King-
dom of brambles, which *few men* seek to erect (at
once, weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or
man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal
blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

§ 9. Well, God's will bee don: I doubt not
but My Innocencie will finde him both My Protec-
tor and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge
whom

whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminencie of his Power and Majestie above them; but also for that singular Care and Protection which hee hath over them: who know's them to bee exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will hee suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde *Avengers of My blood* among themselves: the injuries I have susteined from them shall bee first punished by them, who were'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee.

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of *My blood* shall make them think no waie better to expiate it, then by shedding their's who with them most thirsted after Mine.

§ 10. The *sad confusions*, following My destruction, are alreadie presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone, who onely could, hath manie waies pleaded My Cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, *whose confederacie in sin was their onely Charitie*; who have caus'd to fear that God will both further divide, and, by mutual vengeance, afterward destroie them.

§ 11. My greatest *Conquest of death* is from the Power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Assension.

My next comfort is, that hee give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate His example *in suffering for righteous-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroiers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and praie for them, that

God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

§ 12. At present, the will of My Enemies seem's to bee their onely rule, their power the measure, and their success the Exactor of what they pleas to call Justice; while they flatter themselvs with the Phantasie of their own safetie by My Danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting that, as *the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities*; so *the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.*

§ 13. I bless God, I praise not so much that the bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting Mee, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to My death, are embrued in My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; *I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.*

This, I think, becom's a Christian toward his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Mee; whose Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompens what ever by man's injustice Hee is pleased to deprive Mee of.

The glorie attending my death well far surpass all I could enjoie, or conceiv in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the shadows of My earthlie Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himself.

§ 14. For the Censures of the world; *I know*

the sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of my Destinie will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against me; I am perswaded I am happie in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not onely Pitie and Praie for Mee, but would be content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

These know how to excuse My failings, as a man; and yet to retein and paie their dutie to Mee as their King; there beeing no Religious necessitie binding Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the Publick; the enjoiment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believ, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp Convictions, and som remors in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportion of their evil dealings against Mee in the Measure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoie their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretext of paring other's nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

§. 15. The punishment of the more insolent and delinquent may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of Divine Justice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used authoritie; upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Mee, the Church, and State.

§. 16. My chiefest comfort in death consist's in My Peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Caus so long disputed by the Sword, between Mee and My causeless enemies: where, I doubt not, but His righteous judgment will confute their fal-

lacie, who from worldlie ſucceſs (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permit's manie events, which His revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approve's.

§ 17. I am confident, the Juſtice of My Cauſe, and clearneſs of My Conſcience before God and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's decision, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that, *Manie times, thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell*, as to the injuriouſneſs and oppreſſion of the deſign. *The proſperous windes, which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, do not juſtifie their Piracie and Rapine.*

§ 18. I look upon it, with infinite more contentment and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in My unforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honor of Parliament, the Rights of My Crown, the juſt Liberties of My Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſs, overborn them all; as *ſome men* have now evidently done whatever deſigns they at firſt pretended.

§ 19. The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it muſt bee ſo) then they can give it to Mee, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Mee.

§ 20. And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſins and ſorrows attending this miſerable life, wherewith theſe deare I might ſtill contend. I ſhall

I shall bee more then Conqueror through Christ enabling Mee; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as Hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

§ 21. If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but *Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom*: where the debt of death, which I ow for sin to nature, shall bee raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech Him mercifully to accept; And, although death bee the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of other's sins, as men, both against God and Mee; yet, as I hope, My own sins are so remitted, that they shall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of My destruction.

§ 22. The Trophees of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee.

Though their sin bee Prosperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned: both which I praie God they may obtein; that My temporal death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for *I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less detestable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.*

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Mee overboard; though it bee *verie strange*, that *Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.*

§ 23. I thank God, *My enemies crueltie cannot prevent my Preparations*; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroied My Soul with My Bodie; of whose salvation while *som* of them have themselvs seemed,

and

and taught others to Despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much Desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Mee even the assistance of anie of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where Thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us; and the merciful Savious of us in it; and from it.

Tea, it is better for us to bee dead to our selvs, and live in Thee: then by living in our selvs to bee deprived of Thee.

O make the manie bitter Aggravations of my death as a man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of Thy special graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If Thou Lord wilt bee with mee, I shall neither fear, nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcom it, is the grace of Thee alone, who art the Almightie and Immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with mee as a man; make mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with Thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that Thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though Thou slaiest mee, yet Thou hast encouraged mee to trust in Thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not Thy favor from mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from mee, for I know not how, nor a violent and cruel death is to mee.

As Thy Omniscience, O God, discover's, so Thy Omniperence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew

O shew mee the goodness of Thy will, though the
wickedness of their's.
Thou giv'est mee leav as a man to praie, that this
cup may pass from mee; but Thou hast taught mee
a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not My
will, but Thine bee don.
Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly resolving
mine into Thine: let not the desire of life in mee bee
greater, as that of doing or suffering Thy will, in
life or death.
As I believ Thou hast forgiv'n all the errors of my
life, so I hope Thou wilt save mee from the terrors
of death.
Make mee content to leav the world's nothing, that
I may com really to enjoi all in Thee, who hast made
death unto mee in life gain, and in death advantage.
Though my Destroiers forget their Dutie to Thee and
mee, yet do not Thou, O Lord, forget to bee merciful
to them.
For what profit is there in my blood, or the ruin
of my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?
Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but
wilfully usurped and turned it against my self, though
I may deserv, yet let them not receiv to their own
damnation.
Thou madst Thy Son a Saviour to manie that cru-
cified Him, while at once He suffered Violently by
them, and yet Willingly for them.
O let the voice of His blood bee heard for my mur-
derers, louder then the crie of mine against them.
Prepare them for Thy mercie by due convictions of
their sin; and let them not at once decev and damn
their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in
punishing mee, while the conscience of their unjust
usurpation of power against mee chiefly tempts them
to use all extremities against mee.
O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their mercies
to mee as verie false, so verie cruel; who, pretending
to preserv mee, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal

O deal not with them in blood-thirstie and deceitfull men; but overcom their cruelti'e with Thy compassion, and my charitie.

And when Thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the blood of Thy Son, that Thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and mee; Yet let the capacious kingdom of Thy infinite mercie at last receive both mee and my enemies:

When, beeing reconciled to Thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, wee shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

When their hands shall bee heavieſt, and cruellest upon mee, O let mee fall into the arms of Thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is cut off of my life, in this miserable moment, may bee repaired in Thy ever blessed Eternitie.

Lord, let Thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen Thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

Hebr. 11. 4.

Ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται.

FINIS.

PRAIERS,

used by His Majestie in the time of His

SUFFERINGS.

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon* bishop of *London* immediately before His Death.

Also a Letter from the *Prince*.

A *Praier* in time of Captivitie.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Miserie with Thine eie of Mercie, and let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out som proportion of deliverance unto Mee, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Mee; and let My faults by Thy hand bee corrected; and make not My unjust Enemies the ministers of Thy Justice: But yet, My God, if in Thy wisdom this bee the aptest chastisement for My unpeasable transgressions; if this ingrateful bondage bee fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) Heart bee thus to bee broken; O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Mee suffer: Onely thus much let Mee crave of Thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, bee accepted of, since it even proceed's from Thee) that, by Thy goodnesse, which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer

som

som beam of Thy Majestie so to shine in My minde, that I, who acknowledge it My Noblest Title to bee Thy Creature, may still, in My greatest Afflictions, depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie bee the exercise, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power bee to My destruction. And if it bee Thy will that they more and more vex Mee with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carrie a pure minde, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption; yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee: so that at the last I may come to Thy eternal Kingdom through the Merits of Thy Saviour alone Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Another PRAIER.

ALmightie and most mercifull Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthie Servant, who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace: but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthie to speak before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most Holie and Eternal God; for as in sin I was conceived and born; so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting manie things which I ought to do, and committing manie vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of Thy heavie displeasure. For My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the Miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to come; If Thou should'st deal with Mee according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fail's,) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed, but with Thee there is Mercie and plentious Redemption; in the

the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, That Thou would'st not enter into judgment with Thy servant, nor bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, but bee Thou merciful unto Mee, and wash away all My sins with that pretious blood that My Saviour shed for Mee. And I beseech Thee, O Lord not onely to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy holie Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption; and as Thou do'st add daies to My life, so, good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have past this mortal life, I may bee partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Praier and Confession, made in, and for the times of Affliction.

ALmightie and most merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodness that admit's of Our imperfect Praiers, and the knowledg that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Us an le hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is Our bounden and necessarie duties to confess our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee; no man more grievously offending Thee; that degree of knowledg which Thou hast giv'n mee, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I shed innocent blood to bee shed by a false-pretended wate of Justice? or that I permitted wrong wate of Thy Worship to bee set up in Scotland? and injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I herein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, breaking the Dictates of a right informed Conscience: therefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make to hope last, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My praiers faultie:

Grant

Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My praiers, that Thou may'st clear the waie for Thine own Mercies, to which, O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to My deserved Afflictions. In the mean time give Mee Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a discerning Spirit to chuse, what is best for Thy Church and People which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour. Amen.

A *Praier* in time of imminent danger.

O *Most merciful Father, though My sins are so manie and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free Mee from My present great danger; yet O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeined repentance com to Thee for succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of Thy heavenlie favor: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Mee out of the hands, and protect Mee from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My heinous offenses will not otherwise bee satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will bee don; yet, with humble Importunitie, I do, and shall never leav to implore the assistance of Thy heavenlie Spirit, that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My minde, that with alacrness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloodie Trial, that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise bee a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake, who suffered for Mee, even Jesus Christ the Righteous.* Amen.

FINIS.

His Majestie's Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the high Court of Justice, which Hee intended to deliver in Writing on Mundaie Jan. 22. 1648.

Having alreadie made My protestations not onely against the illegalitie of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call Mee (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would have anie more open My mouth upon this occasion, were then to refer My self to what I have spoken, where I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I ow to God, in the preservation of the true liberties of My People, will not suffer Mee at this time to be silent: For how can anie free-born Subject of *England* call life, or anie thing hee possesseth his own, if Power without Right daily make Lawes, and abrogate the old fundamental Laws of the Land? which I now take to bee the present case. Therefore when I came hither, I expected that I would have endevoured to have satisfied Mee concerning these grounds which hinder Mee to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can saie will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judg Mee, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*; for, I will not (like you)

you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* Hereabout I was stopt, and not suffered to speak anie more concerning reason.

* There is no proceeding just against anie man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Countrie where hee live's. Now I am most confident, that this daies proceeding cannot bee warranted by God's Law; for on the contrarie the autoritie of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am readie instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may saie unto him, what dost thou? Eccles. 8. 4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no less confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the *King*, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you grounde your proceedings, must either be old, or new. If old, shew it; If new, tell what autoritie warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge. And it were full strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House, to anie that have heard speak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *England's* Commission could grant your pretended Power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend anie color for this your pretended

Commission

Commission without the consent at least of the major part of everie man in *England*, of whatsoever qualitie or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own Right alone, as I am your King; but also for the true Liberties of all My Subjects, which consists not in having the power of Government, but in living under such Law, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and proprietie of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dates proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their Publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Mee, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Mee lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly seized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power, defend the antient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; from for anie thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Mee to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for manie hundred yeers, (nor will I saie what will fall out in case

case this lawless unjust proceeding against Mee do go on) and believ it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happie they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, the King My Father, and My self, untill the beginning of these unhappie Troubles; and will have cause to doubt that they shall never bee so happie under anie new. And by this time it will bee too visibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the antient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Autority without violating the trust which I have from God for the welfare and libertie of My People: I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgment, shewing Mee that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will readily Answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speak in* Westminster Hall *on* Mondaie, 22 Januarie, *but against reason was hindred to shew My Reasons.*

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the *Hague*, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

SIR!

HAving no means to com to the knowledg of Your Majestie's present condition, but such as I receiv from the Prints, or (which is so uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Lamour to wait upon Your Majestie; and to bring Mee an account of it: that I may withal assure Your Majestie, I do not onely praie for Your Majestie according to My Dutie; but shall alwaies bee readie to do all which shall bee in My power, to deserv that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majestie upon

SIR,

Hague, Jan. 23. 1648.

Your MAJESTIE'S

most humble and most obedient Son and Servant,

CHARLS.

The Superscription was thus,

For the King.

Mondaie 29th. *Januarie*, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING'S *Speech to the Ladie* Elisabeth, *and the Duke of* Gloucester, *the daie before His Death.*

HIs Children beeing com to meet Him, Hee first gave His blessing to the Ladie *Elisabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever shee should see him, That it was his Father's last desire, that hee should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but bee obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enamies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (said shee) I shall never forget it while I live: and, pouring forth a abundance of teares, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon His Knee, said, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Father's Head; (upon which words the Childe looked verie stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I saie, They will cut off My Head and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I saie, You must not bee a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brother's Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not bee made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will bee torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoice exceedingly.

Another

for the King.

Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth's *own Hand.*

WHat the King said to mee the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648. beeing the last time I had the happiness to see Him; Hee told mee, Hee was glad I was com, and although Hee had not time to saie much, yet somwhat Hee had to saie to mee, which Hee had not to another, or leav writing; becaus Hee feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to mee. Hee wished mee not to griev and torment my self for Him; for that would bee a glorious death that Hee should die; it beeing for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. Hee bid mee read Bishop *Andrew*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s *Ecclesiastical Politie*, and Bishop *Laud*'s book against *Fisher*, which would ground mee against Poperie. Hee told mee, Hee had forgive'n all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them. Hee bid mee tell my Mother, That His thoughts had never straied from her, and that His Love should bee the same to the last. Withal, Hee commanded mee and my Brother to bee obedient to Her. And bid mee send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after He had giv'n mee His Blessing, I took my leav.

Further, Hee commanded Us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been first falss to Him, and to those that gave them power, and Hee feared also to their own souls: and desired mee not to griev for Him, for Hee should die a *Martyr*, and that Hee doubted not but

the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that Wee should bee all happier, then Wee could have exspected to have been, if Hee had lived: With manie other things, which at present I cannot remember. *Elisabeth.*

Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth.

THe *King* said to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that Hee would saie nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: Hee told him, that Hee heard the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if hee regarded the welfare of his Soul, for hee had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and hee would provide for him.

APOPHTHEGMATA Aurea, Regia, CAROLINA.

APOPHTHEGMS

I. } Theological.
II. } Moral.
III. } Political.

Collected out of the Incomparable

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

OF

His most glorious Majestie King CHARLS the *First*.

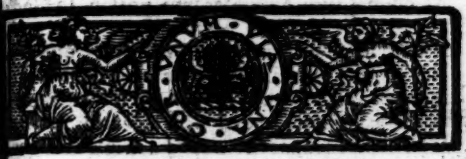
Vincit qui patitur.

Fortior est qui se quàm qui fortissima—

Ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται. Hebr. 11. 4.

LONDON,

Printed by *William Du-gard*, and are to bee sold by *Francis Eglesfield* at the Marigold in St. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1649.



Apophthegmata Carolina.

I. Theological.

WHen our sins are ripe, it is just with God to reap that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd Him of in our Prosperitie. *pag.* 3. *line* 7.

Bare resolutions of future reforming not alwaies satisfie God's justice, nor prevent vengeance for former miscarriages. *p.* 3. 11.

Wee ought to depend on God's Mercies to forgive, not on our purposes to amend. *p.* 3. 15.

God vindicate's His Glorie by His Judgments; and shew's us how unsafe it is to offend Him, upon presumptions afterwards to please Him. *p.* 3, 18.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, God teacheth us caus to repent of those remedies wee too late applie. *p.* 3. 24.

Miseries upon persons or Nations are the just effects of God's displeasure: and yet may bee, through God's Mercie, preparatives to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoie them. *p.* 3. 30.

Then shall wee dare to account our afflictions but the strokes of an enemie, but a father, when God giveth us those humble affections, and that measure of patience, which becom's his children. *p.* 3. 38.

God's Grace is infinitely better with our Sufferings, then our Peace could bee with our sins. *p.* 4. 8.

As our sins turn Antidotes into poison, so God's Grace turn's poison into Antidotes. p.4.14.

No man who will avoid inconveniences of State, by Acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate, or compensate, is worthie to bear the name and place of God on earth. p.5.25.

It is a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience thereby to salv State-sores: to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom. p.5.30.

An upright Magistrate is more afraid to take awaie anie man's life unjustly, then to lose his own. p.7.28.

Justice, which is the will of God, ought to be preferred before all contrarie Clamors, which are but the discoveries of men's injurious wills. p.8.19.

A Prince ought not for anie reason of State, to go against the reason of his Conscience: which is highly to sin against the God of Reason, and Judge of Conscience. p.8.21.

The Spirit of God subjects the Will of a Prince to none but the light of Reason, Justice and Religion, which shine's in his Soul. p.8.

No present importunitie, or popular vindication will bee subterfuge sufficient to rescue men guilty of evil machinations from the exact tribunals of God and their consciences. p.10.

In obstructions of Justice among men, wee may religiously appeal to God and men's own Consciences, as beeing an argument to us Christians of that after-unavoidable judgment which shal re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided or not at all. p.10.

Afflictions cannot bee esteemed (with wise and godly men) anie argument of sin in an innocent person, more then the impunitie of wicked men among good men, anie sure token of their innocencie. p.11.

As it is one of the most convincing arguments that there is a GOD, while his power is bound

bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that Hee restrein's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation then when Hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autoritie. *p.*12.13.

Good men had rather want anie thing they most desire, for the publick good, then obtein it by unlawful and irreligious means. *p.*13.26.

The just Avenger of all disorders often make's men see their sin in the glass of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-lay, that guiltie men may one day see themselvs punished by that way they offended. *p.*16.3.

God order's our disorders: and magnifie's His wisdom and mercie, when our follies and miseries are most discovered. *p.*16.30.

Our sins are the Tumults of our Souls against our God. *p.*17.1.

What man cannot, or will not repress, the Omnipotent Justice can and will. *p.*17.17.

Reason set's bounds to our Passions, Truth to Errors, Laws duly executed to Sedition, Charitie to Schisms. *p.*19.23.

A man that know's the sinceritie and uprightness of his own heart, although hee may seem less a Politician to men, yet hee need's no secret distinctions or evasions before God. *p.*21.1.

As manie Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them (if they could bee at once enjoied) are not worth the gaining by the ways of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a Soul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms. *p.*21.13.

God's All-discerning Justice see's through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darknesses of their hearts. *p.*21.31.

Grace will teach us wisely to enjoie as well the frustratings as the fulfillings of our best hopes, and most specious desires. *p.*12.1.

The Comfort of God's Mercies often raiseth the greatest Sufferers to bee the most glorious Saints. p. 22. line 32.

I will rather chuse to wear a crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie dictates of anie factions p. 26. 11.

I know no Resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdoms. p. 26. 20.

It is God's will that wee should maintein our Native, Rational and Religious freedom. p. 26. 25.

Though God doth require us to submit our understandings and wills to His, whose wisdom and goodness can neither err, nor misguide us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to His sacred mysteries and commands, that wee should believe and obeie, rather then dispute them: yet doth He exspect from us onely such a reasonable service of Him as not to do anie thing for Him against our consciences. p. 26. 37.

A good Christian ought to bee willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries, rather then commit the least sin against his conscience, p. 27. 16.

A Christian King ought not to subject his Reason to other men's Passions and designs, which seem unreasonable, unjust and irreligious. So shall hee serv God in truth and uprightness of heart, though hee cannot satisfie *som men*. p. 27. 23.

Truth and Justice will bring a man at last to peace and happiness with God, thongh hee hath much trouble among men. p. 27. 30.

The scandal of Subjects, who profess the same Religion with their Sovereign, may bee an hindrance to the love of Truth, and hardning others in Error. p. 31. 1.

Constancie in Religion the best Antidote against the poison of ill example. p. 31. 6.

The

The experience of the vanitie and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie and Greatneſs ſhould make us the more ambitious to bee inveſted in thoſe durable Honors and perfections, which are onely to bee found in GOD, and obteined through JESUS Chriſt. *pag. 31. line 23.*

I deſire alwaies more to remember I am a Chriſtian then a King: for what the Majeſtie of one might juſtly abhor, the Charitie of the other is willing to bear: what the hight of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive; keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſs injure's a man more then his greateſt enemies can. For theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwiſe cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt. *p.32.34.*

No puniſhment ſo ſtain's a man's honor as wilfull perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brand's with moſt indelible characters of infamie the name and memorie to poſteritie; who, not engaged in the factions of the times, have the moſt impartial reflections on the actions. *p.34.39.*

My outward ſtrength, God know's, is little, or none at all: but I have a ſoul invincible through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am ſure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee ſuch a meaſure of confiancie, as to fear Him more then Man; and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before anie outward tranquillitie. *p.36.25.*

The leaſt ſin hath in it more evil, then the greateſt affliction. *p.40.17.*

What is Religious and Apoſtolical, and ſo verie ſacred and divine, is not to bee diſpenſed with, or deſtroied. *p.40.36.*

Praiers and Tears the chiefeſt Arms, which the Antient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, may ſerv a good man's turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr. *p.45.23.*

The

The manie and sore oppressions of My people griev Mee: I am above Mine own: what I want in the hands of force and power, I have in the wings of faith and praier. *pag.* 46. *line* 3.

The *Sword* and *Militia* are but weak defenses against the strokes of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake; or of men's own consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations. *p.* 48. 36.

I do not think I can want any thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to take from Mee, in order to My people's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whose protection is sufficient for Mee; and Hee is able by His beeing with Mee, abundantly to compensate to Mee as Hee did to *Job*, whatever Honor, Power, or Libertie, the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive Mee of. *p.* 49. 1.

Though Men take all temporarie defenses from Mee; yet cannot they deprive Mee of my own innocencie, or God's mercie, nor obstruct My waie to heaven. *p.* 49. 15.

When I have declared that I cannot yield to som things propounded, without violating My conscience, 'tis strange there can bee no method of peace but by making war upon my Soul. *p.* 51. 7.

Nothing can repair or requite the loss of the incommunicable jewel of a good conscience. 51. 20.

The love of My people's peace hath great influence upon Mee; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more. *p.* 51. 29.

The inward quiet of my Conscience ought to bee, is, and ever shall bee (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms. *p.* 51. 34.

In want of free and faithful counsel, which others are able and willing to impart, none can hinder us from craving of the counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline our hearts stedfastly to follow it. *p.* 58. 21.

I cannot pleas all, I care not to pleas *som men*: If I may bee happie to pleas God, I need not fear whom I displeas. 59. 23.

God

God can as well bleſs honeſt Errors, as blaſt fraudulent Counſels. *pag. 60, line 8.*

Though preſſures are grievous, and peace verie pleaſing; yet wee ought not to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other with the leaſt expenſ orwaſte of Conſcience, whereof God onely is deſervedly more maſter then out ſelvs. *p. 60. 17.*

Som men, out of a covetous Zeal, and uncharitable furie, think it a great Argument of the Truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own. *p. 62. 21.*

Som kinde of Zeal count's all merciful moderation lukewarmneſs; and had rather bee cruel then counted cold; and is not ſeldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for anie harm hee hath don. *p. 63. 38.*

God doth not therefore denie our innocence, becauſ Hee is pleaſed ſo far to trie our patience, as Hee did His ſervant *Job's*. *p. 65. 2.*

Hee that look's well to his own Conſcience and the faithful diſcharge of his Truſt, hath ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of *ſom men's* mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoak or ſparks do out of a fornace, much leſs to make prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction, who, conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs are loath to believ anie man not to bee as bad as themſelvs. *p. 65. 5.*

Crueltie among Chriſtians acted under the color of Religion, as if wee could not bee Chriſtians unleſs wee crucifie one another, *an horrid ſin.* 66. 1.

It is not ſo proper to hew out Religious Reformation by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reaſon ought to convince. *p. 69. 12.*

Conſcience can receiv little ſatisfaction in thoſe points, which are mainteined rather by Souldiers fighting in the fields, then Scholars diſputing in free and learned Synods. *p. 69. 25.*

In

In matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on men's judgments and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weaken's Truth with prejudices: and is unreasonable to bee used, till such means of Rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance condemn's men's obstinacie to deserved penalties. *p* 69.19

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie bee an institution of Christ, sure it differ's from all others: and is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that was to bee planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion run's in a stream so contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters both of Christianitie and Episcopacie, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of man in it to have much of Christ. *p.*70.20.

Wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism then this Presbyterian waie of Government. *p.*71.9.

The Repealing of Church-Laws and Constitutions ought to bee grounded upon more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their knapsacks. *p.*71.25.

I esteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Christ above Mine own; and the Salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates. *p.*71.14.

Violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loial, ought not to shake or unsettle the Religion of anie man, who know's what Religion mean's. *p.*71.37.

The proper engine of all Faction is Force the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and Loial Subjects, in matters of Religion. *p.*72.2.

Men prone to have high conceits of themselvs care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions. *p.*72.5.

God's

God's Juſtice and Man's follie will at length bee diſcovered, through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns. *pig. 73. l. 5.*

The leſs cauſ wee have to truſt to men, the more wee have to truſt to God. *p. 73. l. 23.*

Pious ſimplicitie is the beſt policie. *p. 73. 30.*

In things which are of no clear moral neceſſitie, but diſputable and controverted among learned and godly men, Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment and certaintie in ones ſelf, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as Religion require's. *p. 75. 11.*

Religion never refuſe's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too in matters onely probable. *p. 75. 18.*

The enjoining of Oaths upon people, muſt needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as in things unlawful, damnable; and no leſs ſuperfluous, where former religious and legal engagements bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſarie duties. *p. 75. 21.*

None, that have once true touches of Conſcience, will endeavor to carrie on the beſt deſigns (much leſs ſuch as are apparently factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful mean's. *p. 76. 14.*

Wee ought not to prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-autorized Novelties before known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable both to God and the Prince. *p. 76. 19.*

Later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters which by firſt and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls. *p. 76. 24.*

Confederations, by waie of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants, are the more to bee ſuſpected, becauſ they are the common road uſed in all factions and powerful perturbations of State and Church. *p. 76. 28.*

Formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians

ticians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled or sacred in Religion or Laws. *p.76.32.*

Every man soon grow's his own Pope, and easily absolv's himself of those ties which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtiltie or terror of a Partie cast's upon him. *p.77.5.*

No man's lawful Calling can engage him against the Church, the Prince, or the Publick peace. *p.78.19.*

A pious Prince ought to bee forward to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good conscience, in what things hee shall, after impartial advice, bee, by God's Word, and right reason, convinced to bee amiss. *p.78.34.*

Bishops and Church-men, with their Lands and Revennes, as the fattest Deer, must bee destroied; the other Rascal-Herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. beeing lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration. *p.79.6.*

I see, while the breath of Religion fill's the sails, Profit is the Compass, by which factious men steer their cours in all seditious commotions. *p.79.11.*

Pharaoh's Divinitie, and *Joseph*'s true pietie abborr'd to sell the Priest's Lands. *p.79.30.*

I esteem it My greatest Title to bee called, and My chiefest Glorie to bee the *Defendor of the Church both in its true Faith, and its just Fruitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apostasie.* *p.79.31.*

I had rather live, as My Predecessor *Henrie* the third somtimes did, on the Churche's Alms, then violently take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths. *p.80.1.*

I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own powers; it beeing every man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other. *p.80.23.*

There are wales enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruins of the Church. *p.80.28.*

No Pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient

ſufficient to abſolv Subjects from the obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral, and indiſpenſable bonds, which God's Word, and the Laws of the Kingdom have laid upon their Conſciences, nor engage them to any contrarie practices. p.81.1.

Nothing violent and injurious can bee Religious. p.81.6.

God allow's no man's committing Sacrilege under the zeal of abhorring idols. p.81.8.

Sacrilegious deſigns ought not to have the countenance of Religious Ties. p.81.10.

It is hard for a man, that hath not innocencie and God's protection, to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth, and by jealouſies to ſupplie the defect of Real cauſes. p.82.24.

Popular Preachers think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſ to call God's Cauſ. p.86. 12.

Differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſs of dutie, allegiance, and ſubjection. p. 87. 13.

Different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot take away the communitie of Relations either to Parents, or to Princes. p.87.18.

A truly-humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize his perſecutions, as rather not to bee relieved, then bee revenged, ſo as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which attend's humble and injured Sufferers. p.89. 5.

A crown of Chriſtian Patience attend's humble and injured Sufferers. p.89.8.

God is the onely King of men's Conſciences. p.90.15.

It is no newes to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformation. p.93.12.

Praier and devotion is the Soul's more immediate converſ with the Divine Majeſtie. p.93 21.

The Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all reformed Churches

Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox. p.94.8.

Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulnes of a well-composed Liturgie. p.94.20.

In the use of Constant Forms, not the words but men's hearts are too blame. p.95.10.

A man may bee verie formal in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently-devout in the most wonted expressions. p.95.12.

Constant Forms of Praier are not more likely to flat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and devotion, then unpremeditated and confused varietie to distract and lose it. p.95.16.

It is impossible for a Prince to preserv the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an influence upon Churchmen, and they such a dependence on Him, as may best restrein the seditious exorbitancies of Minister's tongues; who, with the keies of heaven, have so far the keies of the people's hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loialtie. p.99.37.

I never thought any Bishop worthie to sit in the Hous of Peers, who would not vote according to his Conscience. p.100.15.

The Government of the Church by Bishops hath of all other the fullest Scripture-Grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches. p.100.21.

The want of Government the Church can no more dispens with, in point of well-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of beeing. p.101.10.

Proud usurpers against true Episcopacie by Popular heaps of weak, light and unlearned Teachers seek to over-laie and smother the pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Histories of the Church. p.102.33.

In

In Religion, Scripture is the best Rule, and the Churches universal Practice the best Commentarie. *p.* 103. 13.

Not onely in Religion, but also in right Reason and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an Orderlie Subordination among Presbyters and Ministers should bee any more against Christianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments; where *p.* 103. 15.

Paritie breed's Confusion and Faction. *p.* 103. 20.

Good Order is no more inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie. *p.* 103. 22.

Ministers have as much of the principles of Schism and division, as other men. *p.* 103. 29.

It was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles that first settled Bishops in the Church. *p.* 103. 36.

Tyrannie becom's no Christians, lest of all Churchmen. *p.* 104. 8.

The whole stream of examples and practice of the Church, or Testimonies of Histories run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for any other. *p.* 104. 32.

The necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth then commendeth som late Reformed Churches for their incomformitie to all Antiquitie. *p.* 104. 37.

It is no point of Wisdom nor Charitie, where Christians differ, to widen the differences. *p.* 105. 10.

The Desertors of Episcopacie will appear the greatest enemies to, and betraiers of their own interest. *p.* 106. 11.

Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopacie. *p.* 106. 13.

All Ministers will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favor of the people and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, and by the sweet and liberal dews of heaven. *p.* 106. 15.

The

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see what a poor carcass they are, when parted from the influence of that head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn. *p.*106.20.

Some men's zeal for Bishop's Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacie: which is no less sin then sacrilege or robberie of God of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to His Church and Prophets. *p.*108.22.

The abuses of Episcopacie deserv to bee extirpated, as much as the use reteined. *p.*111.*l.*3.

The Revenues of the Church becom the object of secular envie, which seek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion. *p.*111.25.

I would rather, with *Constantine*, cover the errors of the Fathers of the Church with silence, and reform with meekness then expose their Persons and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt. *p.*112.12.

The Counsels of unreasonable men have brought forth and continue violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of the Churche's peace; thereby letting in all manner of Errors, Schism and disorders. *p.*112.19.

Our sins somtimes prevail against the justice of our Caus. *p.*117.10.

Personal and private sins may oft-times overbalance the justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every Gallant man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument to assert, in the waie of War, a righteous Caus. The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for His own Glorie. *p.*117.17.

The event or success can never state the justice of any Caus, nor the peace of men's Consciences, nor the eternal welfare of their Souls. *p.*117.25.

A Godlie Prince desire's that all his Subjects may join true Pietie with the sens of their Loialtie: and

bee as faithful to God and their own ſouls, as they are to their Prince: that the defects of the one may not blaſt the endevors of the other. *p.*119. *l.*27.

Different events are but the Methods of Divine juſtice by contrarie windes to winnow us: that, by puniſhing our ſins, Hee might purge them from us; and deferring peace Hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing. *p.*120.21.

The inevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to bee quiet: wee, having conquered His patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to deſtroie one another. *p.*121.5.

Thoſe victories are ſtill miſerable, that leav our ſins un-ſubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries. *p.*121.12.

God, ſomtimes, for the ſins of our Peace bring's upon us the miſeries of War; and for the ſins of War denie's us the bleſſing of Peace. *p.* 122.22.

The good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſettled ought to bee the firſt Rule and ſtandard of Reforming. *p.*123.16.

Where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctual in precepts, there the conſtant and univerſal practice of the Church in things not contrarie to Reaſon, Faith, good manners, or any poſitive command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow. *p.*124.34.

The ſpecious and popular Title of Chriſt's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have at leaſt, alſo the noiſ of a thorough-Reformation, theſe may as eaſily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favored figures. *p.*125.16.

Publick Reformers had need firſt act in private, and practiſe that on their own hearts, which they purpoſe to trie on others: for Deformities within will ſoon betraie the Pretenders of Publick Reformations to ſuch private deſigns as muſt needs hinder the Publick good. *p.*126.37.

The

The right method of reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State: nor can Religion bee justly advanced by depressing Loialtie, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion: for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*. p.127.4.

Christ's Kingdom may bee set up without pulling down the temporal Kingdom of Princes; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselvs good Subjects. p.127.10.

Christ's Government confirm's the Kings, doth not overthrow it. p.127. 14.

Christian Patience know's how to serv God in Honor and dishonor, in good report, or evil. p.132. 34.

God is a Christian's chiefest Guard: and his Conscience both his Counseller and Comforter. p.133.38.

The integritie of Conscience is the onely jewel worth keeping. p.135.9.

A man lose's himself, while hee let's out his hopes to others. p.136.21.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I bee not in the *Black List* of *Irreligious* and *Sacrilegious Princes*. p.136.29.

The golden Rule and bond of perfection in Praier, and other holie duties consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie. p.141. 9.

I hold it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's praiers, then to bee forced, or seem to compli with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul. p.141.38.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sens: but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shew's the speaker to bee at once considerate of God's Majestie, the Churche's Honor, and his own vileness; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercie for himself, or others. p. 142.4.

I am

I am equally ſcandalized with all praiers that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, or paſſionately; as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or reſpect to the dutie. *page* 142. *line* 12.

The light of underſtanding and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſarie requiſites both in conſtant and occaſional, ſolitarie and ſocial devotions. *p.* 142. 28.

I had rather bee condemned to the wo of *Væ ſoli*, then to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to praiſe what I do not approve. *p.* 143. 8.

It is infinitely more glorious to convert ſouls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword. *p.* 143. 27.

Confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every man's turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the ſtate where every one affect's to rule as King. *p.* 144 10.

In the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie ſupplies of His gifts and graces. *p.* 144. 18.

Former ſins may bee ſeen in the glaſs of the preſent errors and diſtractions. *p.* 151. 7.

See the hand of Divine Juſtice: they, that by tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now bee chaſtened by their own Armie for new Tumults. *p.* 153. 9.

Hardly can men bee content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former. *p.* 153. 13.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh by their own crimes and hands. *p.* 154. 8.

Fatal blindeneſs frequently attend's and puniſhe's ſinful. *p.* 154. 26.

Men ſhal not bee able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins. *p.* 154. 27.

God's conſtancie is ſeen in the world's varietie and changes. *p.* 155. 37.

They cannot want enemies who abound in ſin, nor till they bee long undiſarmed, and undeſtroied, who with

with an high hand perſiſt to fight againſt God, and the clear convictions of their own conſciences. *p.156.13.*

God can and will exalt and perfect a true Chriſtian by his ſufferings, which have more in them of God's Mercie, then of man's crueltie, or his Juſtice. *p.156.38.*

Pietie will make a Prince proſperous: at leaſt it will keep him from beeing miſerable: nor is hee much a loſer, who loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt. *p.158.36.*

The cup of afflictions wee muſt look upon as God's phyſick, having that in healthfulneſs which it want's in pleaſure. *p.159.3.*

A Prince ought to bee well grounded and ſettled in Religion, that it may bee judiciouſly his own, and not other men's cuſtom or tradition which hee profeſſe's. *p.159.15.*

The fixation of the Prince, in matters of Religion, will not bee more neceſſarie for his Soul's then his Kingdom's peace. *p.159.21.*

The Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation. *p.159.25.*

Unleſs a Prince bee ſettled in Religion, hee ſhall never want temptations to deſtroie Him and His, under pretenſion of Reforming matters of Religion. *p.159.31.*

Religion ſeem's even to the worſt of men as the beſt and moſt auſpicious begining of their worſt deſigns. *p.159.35.*

Everie one hath affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought zealous, hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto, they are conſcious, by a ſeveritie of cenſuring other men's opinions or actions. *p.159.39.*

A Prince muſt take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is, in His judgment and the Churche's, well ſettled. *p.160.6.*

The King's partial adhering, as Head, to anie one ſide, gain's Him not ſo great advantages in *ſom men's* hearts

hearts (who are prone to be of their King's Religion) as it loſeth him in others, who think themſelvs and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by Him. *p.160.9.*

Nothing ought to ſeem little or deſpicable to a Prince in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedie Reforming and effectual ſuppreſſing errors and Schiſms: What ſeem at firſt but as an hand-breadth, by Seditious Spirits, as by ſtrong windes, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven. *p.161.10.*

A true Chriſtian is not much ſolicitous what wrong hee ſuffer's from men, while hee retein's in his ſoul what hee believ's is right before God. *p.162.26.*

A Prince ought alwaies to keep up ſolid Pietie, and thoſe fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial favor and Juſtice. *p.163.29.*

A Prince ought to take heed that Outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt encouragements of learning, induſtrie, and pietie. *p.163.32.*

As the Wolf is not leſs cruel, ſo hee will bee more juſtly hated, when hee ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under ſheep's-cloathing. *p.164.19.*

A Power to forgive My enemies is a greater Argument of God's love to Mee, then anie proſperitie can be. *p.165.31.*

The true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England is the beſt in the world, not onely in the communitie as Chriſtians; but alſo in the ſpecial ſion, as Reformed: keeping the middle waie between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyrannie, and the anneſs of fantaſtick Anarchie. *p.166.32.*

The Proteſtant-Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, ther give's ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch amples, as the late War againſt the Church, the ws, and the Prince. *p.169.15.*

Counterfeit and diſorderlie Zeal ought not to abate

abate our value and esteem of true Pietie: both of them are known by their fruits: the sweetnes of the vine and fig-tree is not to be despised, though the brambles and thorns should pretend to bear figs and grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees. *pa.167. li.22.*

God sometimes, in His severest justice, punishe's a people with continuance in their sin, and suffer's them to bee deluded with the prosperitie of their wickednes. *p.168.14.*

Keep You to true Principles of Pietie, Virtue, and Honor, You shall never want a Kingdom. *p.168.22.*

My Conscience, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thousand Kingdoms. *p. 170.18.*

In Prosperitie wee should not bee wholly strangers to the contemplations of Mortalitie: those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death beeing an Eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudie daies. *p.171.12.*

It is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to die daily, in conquering, by a lively faith, and patient hope of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us as it were by piece-meal, and make us over-live our own fates. *p.172.4.*

A Christian ought not to think that life too long or tedious, wherein God give's him anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cause, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths. *p.172.*

In point of true Christian valor, it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life, and a want of that Heroick greatnes of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while wee are in this bodie; and which are dessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity move's higher, or lower: whose total ablence is recompensed with the Dew of Heaven. *p.172.*

The assaults of Affliction may bee terrible,

Sampſon's Lion, but they yield much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcom them; who know how to over-live the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs; while they may yet converſ with God. *p.*173. 3.

Our greateſt conqueſt of death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up death in the victorie of His Reſurrection, and the glorie of His Aſſcenſion. *p.* 175.29.

Charitie is the nobleſt Revenge upon, and victorie over My Deſtroiers. *p.*175.37.

As the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities: ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to complete their wicked purpoſes. *p.*176.11.

God's Mercie will more then infinitely recompenſ what ever by man's injuſtice Hee is pleaſed to deprive us of. *p.*176.28.

God's righteous judgment will confute their falcie, who from worldlie ſucceſs (rather like Sophiſters en ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluons for God's approbation of their actions. *p.*177.19.

God's wiſe providence oft permit's manie events, hich His revea'ed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and xed rule of good Actions and good Conſciences) in o ſort approve's. *p.*178.4.

I ſhall bee more then Conqueror through Chriſt abling Mee; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered, as ee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all hich I have been forced to contend, againſt Error, ction, and Confuſion. *p.*179.1.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with My Saviour, is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where debt of death, which I ow for ſin to nature, ſhall raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to od. *p.*179.6.

The Trophees of My Charitie will bee more glo- us and durable over them, then their ill-managed ories over Mee. *p.*179.19.

I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King as far less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject. p. 179. 27.

It is better for us to bee dead to our selvs, and live in God: then by living in our selvs to bee deprived of God. p. 180. 14.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcom it, is the Grace of God alone, who is Almightie, and Immortal. p. 180. 24.

Apophthegmata Carolina.

II. Moral.

IT is no strange thing for men, left to their own Passions, either to do much evil themselvs, or abuse the overmuch goodnes of others, whereof an ungrateful surfet is the most desperate and incureable disease. *pag. 21. line 30.*

Unjust hatred and jealousies are able to pervert Acts of greatest Indulgence. p. 22. 1.

Manie men are seldom of one minde: and oftentimes the major part are not in the right. p. 23. 1.

Sure it cease's to bee Counsel, when not Reason's used, as to men, to perswade; but Force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. Hee deserv's to bee a slave without pitie, or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereignitie of his soul, and libertie of his will and words so captivated. p. 23. 33.

I do not think My Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedom which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becaus it belong's to Mee, as a man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, [illegible] obligin[illegible]

obliging Mee to consent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike. *p.24.1.*

I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion bid's Mee denie. *p.24.30.*

Error and Passion is a shadow of Reason, and must serv those that are destitute of the Substance. *p.25.12.*

Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or man, who seriously endevour's to see the best reason of things and faithfully follow's what hee take's for reason: the uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failing of his understanding: If a Pilot at sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his cours by such stars as do best appear to him. It argue's rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels and proposals. *p.25.14.*

I can bee content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personal Rights, of which I conceiv My self to bee Master: But in what concern's truth, justice, the rights of the Church and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; which I am bound to preserv as much as morally 'is in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fix't and absolute, nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My heart give's My tongue or hand the lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to men, which My conscience I denie before God. *p.26.1.*

The merits of a deserving Ladie would serv her for a protection among the savage Indians: while their rudeness and barbaritie know's not so perfectly

to hate all virtues, as *Som men*'s subtiltie doth. *p.*28 34.

This comfort I shall enjoie by the safetie of My Queen, in the midst of My personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved. *p.*29.6.

Common Civilitie is in vain exspected from those that dispute their Loialtie. *p.*29.19.

It cannot bee safe for anie Relation to a King to tarrie among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretens of laying faster hold on their Religion. *p.*29.20.

Such is the rudeness of *Som men* towards their Superiors, that they make up their want of Justice with inhumanitie and impudence. *p.*29.26.

Afflictions make virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights. *p.*29.28.

A True wife love's her husband, not his fortunes, and bear's a Sympathie with him in his Afflictions. *p.*29.3[illegible]

Such is the ingratitude of *Som men*, that they scornfully lift up themselvs against those, of whose bread they have eaten, and been enriched with the bountie. *p.*29.3[illegible]

Som think to satisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can less endure to sin then to sin against their Benefactor's as well as their Sovereign's. *p.*30.

It was a policie, necessarie to *Som men*'s designs, to drive the Queen out of the Kingdom, lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love, as a Wife and Loialtie, as a Subject, Shee should have converted to or reteined in their love and Loialtie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert. *p.*30.7[illegible]

It is the most glorious victorie, when no diffidence nor emotion of passion transport's us by the the indignitie of ill carriage, to do or saie anie thing unbecoming our selvs, or unsuitable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, best becom's a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ. *p.*32.

Clemen-

Clemencie is a debt, which wee ought to paie to those that crave it, when wee have cauſe to believ they would not after abuſe it: ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to paie anie thing for his Mercie but only praiers and praiſes. *p.* 34. 24.

They confeſs their known weakneſs, as to Truth and Juſtice, who chooſ rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments. *p.* 36. 34.

To binde a man's ſelf to a general and implicit conſent to whatever ſhall bee deſired or propounded, were ſuch a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie freeman; not fit to bee required of anie man, much leſs of a King by his own ſubjects. *p.* 52. 3.

The goodneſs of men's intentions will not excuſe the ſcandal and contagion of their examples. *p.* 61. 19.

Som kinde of Zeal count's all merciful moderation Lukewarmneſs: and had rather bee cruel then vnited cold; and is not ſeldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin then for anie harm hee hath don. The confiſcation of men's eſtates beeing more benefitt then the charitie of ſaving their ſouls, or reforming their Errors. *p.* 63. 38.

Miſconſtructions of Actions are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what is falſ and evil, then love and charitie to what is true and good. *p.* 64. 36.

Hee that is conſcious to his own depth of wickedneſs, is loth to believ anie man not to bee ſo bad as himſelf. *p.* 65. 11.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill. If I can but bear the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other. *p.* 65. 14.

Roial bountie embolden's *ſom men* to ask and act beyond all bounds of modeſtie and gratitude. *p.* 68. 6.

I thank God, I never found but My pitie was above My Anger, *p.* 83. 16.

between the malice of My enemies, and other men's

miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the itch of Novelltie, and the leproſie of diſſoialtie. p.84.38.

As Liers need have good memories, ſo Malitious perſons good inventions. p.85.3.

My patience will better ſerv Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leiſure to anſwer the manie falſaſperſions which *ſom men* have caſt upon Mee p.85.8.

Libertie in the Popular ſenſ, is to do what everie man liketh beſt. p.89.14.

I wiſh repentance may bee the onely puniſhment *of evil doers.* p.98.15.

God's Mercies are full of varietie, and yet of conſtancie. p.98.23.

God's ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, that hee is neither to bee pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter, or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancie of our Petitions in them both. p.98.32.

That Conſtancie is the Cauſ of formalitie, *not fallacie.* p.99.15.

A little moderation may prevent great miſchiefs. p.106.24.

Pride attend's proſperous, and repinings follow diſaſtrous events. p.121.35.

'Tis a pious ambition to overcom each other with Reaſon, Moderation, and ſelf-denial. p.122.17.

Monuments and Inſcriptions of the dead ſerv but to put poſteritie in minde to thank God for the clearer light wherein they live. p.125.27.

The greateſt experiments of Virtue and Nobleneſs are diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt our enemie: and the greateſt obligations are thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could leaſt have exſpected them. p.128.21.

The freedom and ſecreſie of private papers command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous: nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expoſe them to publick-view. p.128.3.

Sect.

Secret impressions of shame and dishonor attend all unworthie actions, have they never so much of publick flatterie, and Popular countenance. *p.*131.17.

God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noahs* sons bare to their father: nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Cham's* impudencie, nor exempt him from that curse of beeing servant of servants; which curse must needs bee on them, who seek, by dishonorable actions, to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People. *p.*131.23.

Reason is the divinest power; I shall never think My self weak'ned, while I may make full and free use of that; No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light: what God hath denied of outward strength, his Grace, I hope, will supplie with inward Resolutions, not morosely to denie what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie. *p.*134.39.

No restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin; nor gain that of Mee, which may make My enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed. *p.*136.32.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their Power, since My Soul is still Mine own: Nor shall they ever gain My consent against My Conscience. *p.*136,36.

What they call Obstinacie, I know God accounts honest Constancie. *p.*137.1.

Should I grant what *som men* desire I should bee such as they wish Mee: not more a King, and far less both man and Christian. *p.*137.9.

The fear of men shall never bee My snare: nor shall the love of anie Libertie entangle My soul: bet- others betraie Mee then My self; and that the ice of My Libertie should bee My Conscience: the atest injuries My enemies seek to inflict upon Mee not bee without My own consent. *p.*137.15.

Neither libertie nor life are so dear to Mee as the

Peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My word may injure more then anie war can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all. 137.29.

Companie obtruded is more sad then anie solitude can bee. p.140.2.

Though the justice of the Law deprive's Prisoners and Malefactors of worldlie comforts: yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at once to destroie their bodies, and to damn their souls. p.140.13.

My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a learned, godlie and discreet Divine. p.140.18.

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things elſ, they are affraid I should save My soul. p.140.22.

Som remedies are worſ then the diseaſ; and som comforters more miserable then miserie it self. p.141.12.

Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies. p.154.31.

There is nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde. p.154.33.

Plentie is prone to add fewel to the luxuries of populous Cities: their wealth to make them wanton; their multitudes tempting them to securitie: and their securitie exposing them to unexspected miseries. p.156.4.

The most, though they bee not good themselv's, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at anie time sweetned by temporal rewards. p.164.1.

As the qualitie of a Prince sett's him beyond anie Duel with anie Subject: so the nobleneſs of his minde must raiſ him above the meditateing anie Revenge, or executing His Anger upon the *Manie*. p.165.31.

More inward complacencie to a Prince in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand. p.166.7.

Apophthegma-

Apophthegmata Carolina.

III. Political.

THe right waie of Parliaments is moſt ſafe for the Crown as beſt pleaſing to the people. *p.* 1.18.

A good Prince ought to reſolv to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſs all Publick grievances in Church and State. *p.*1.25. and by the weight of reaſon counterpoiz the over-balancings of Factions. *p.*1.31.

His own, and His Children's Intereſts are obligations to a Prince to ſeek and preſerv the love and welfare of his ſubjects. *p.*2.10.

The onely temporal bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honor and ſafetie, next God's protection, is to ſeek and preſerv the love and welfare of their ſubjects. *p.*2 13.

Princes can bee no loſers by leſſening themſelvs in ſom things of their juſt Prerogative, if they may but gain a recompenſ in their Subject's affections. *p.*2 17.

Rigor or remiſſneſs of Miniſters in Church and State, contract upon Government *odium* and offenſes. *p.*2.23.

It concern's Princes both in Pietie and Policie to ſee Religion ſettled and preſerved in Truth, Unitie and Order, as knowing, that no flames of civil diſſencions are more dangerous then thoſe which make

Religious pretenses to bee the ground of Factions. *p.*2.29.

Great abilities in a Minister of State may make a Prince rather afraid then ashamed to emploie him in the greatest affairs. *p.*4.29.

Great abilities are prone to creäte, in a Minister of State, great confidence of undertakings: and great emploiments are like enough to betraie him to great errors and manie enemies. *p.*4.32.

States-men, who move in an high sphere and with a vigorous lustre, must needs (as the Sun) rais manie envious exhalations, which, condensed by a popular *Odium*, are capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie. *p.*4.36.

The importunitie of som people may somtimes necessitate a Prince, though unsatisfied in his own conscience, to chuse rather what is *safe* then what seem's *just*: and to prefer the outward peace of his Kingdoms with men before that inward exactness of Conscience. *p.*5.12.

Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased, is a fallacious Maxim. *p.*5.36.

The best rule of Policie is to prefer the doing of justice before all enjoyments: and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms. *p.*6.20.

Strong probabilities are sufficient to rais jealousies in anie Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and negligective of the publick peace. *p.*9.30.

Popular tumults are not like a storm at Sea, (which yet want's not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shakeing the verie foundations of all, then which nothing in the world hath more of horror. *p.*12.9.

Nothing is more to bee feared and less to bee used by wise men then tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protest, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the Parliament. *p.*12.38.

The midwifrie of Tumults is used by those, who have

have a minde to bring ruin upon the Church and State. *p.*13.10.

Men's passions and God's directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have sutable engines: Such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselvs to God's means. Force must croud in what Reason will not lead. *p.*13.20.

As it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage when strong windes blow upon it: so neither for multitudes to becom insolent, when they have men of som reputation for parts and Pietie to set them on. *p.*14.1.

Such is the petulancie of *som men*, that they joy to see their betters out-raged and abused, knowing their onely securitie consist's in vulgar flatterie. *p.*14.12.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie for anie man for Popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it an hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a sea: which to resist, at present, threaten's imminent danger; but to withdraw, give's it space to spend its furie, and gain's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly wase, then scuffle with an undisciplin'd rabble. *p.*15.1.

Som are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudeness and petulancie. *p.*15.34.

As swine are to gardens and orderly plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments; and Plebeian conourses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions. *p.*16.18.

Som men occasion more work, then they finde to do, by undoing so much as they finde well don to their hands. Such is *Som men's* activitie, that they will needs make work rather then want it, and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing. *p.*18.22.

Good

Good Subjects will never think it just or fit that their Sovereign's condition should bee worse by His bettering theirs. p.18.34.

The Common-wealth is kept in tune by preserving the Laws in their due execution and vigor: wherein the Princes interest lie's more then anie man's. p.19.2.

More then the Law give's a just Prince desire's not to have; and less the meanest Subject should not. p.19.7.

I still counted My self undiminish'd by My largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people. p.19.15.

Som men's ambition will not give their fellow-subjects leav to enjoie what their Prince intend's for their good. p.19.25.

A Prince is easily perswaded, that hee cannot grant too much, or distrust too little to men, who beeing professedly his subjects, pretend singular pietie and religious strictness. p.19.34.

A Prince's suffering *som men* to go up to the pinnacle of the temple, is a temptation to them to cast him down headlong. p.21.7.

Better it is to bee forced to sea by a storm, though unprovided of tackling and victual, then venture splitting, or sinking on a Lee-shore. p.23.1.

Tumults resolv to take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leav their Governors the libertie of their reason and conscience to denie them anie thing. p.23.6.

A Prince is not bound further to agree with the Votes of his Council, then hee see's them agree with the will of God, with his just rights, as a King, and the general good of his People. p.23.17.

Though a Prince bee desirous to give all just content to his People, yet *Som men's* hydropick insatiableness hath learned to thirst the more, by how much the more they drink: whom no fountain of total bounde is able to overcom: so resolved they seem either

either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it. *p.*23.25.

As to the deſires of men, God enjoineth us to trie all things by the touchſtone of Reaſon and Laws, whichare the Rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our conſents to that onely which our judgments approve. *p.*26.34.

The unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of *ſom men's* immoderate demands, ought not to betraie a reſolved Prince to that degenerous and unmanly ſlaverie, which ſhould make him ſtrengthen them by his conſent in thoſe things which hee think's in his conſcience to bee againſt the Glorie of God, the good of his Subjects, and the diſcharge of his own dutie in Reaſon and Juſtice. *p.*27.8.

'Tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and diſloial undertakers, That *bad actions muſt alwaies bee ſeconded with worſ*; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault; and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a fault. *p.*32.15.

'Tis the beſt policie with patience to bear what wee cannot remedie. *p.*32.25.

Apoſtaſie unto Loialtie ſom men count the moſt unpardonable ſin. *p.*33.24.

Superſtitious ſourneſs in matters of Religion ſo darken's the judgment; that they cannot ſee anie thing of ſin and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion; who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervencie. *p.*34.5.

Sir *John Hotham* a notable monument of unproſperous diſloialtie; teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a ſubject towards his Sovereign carrie's alwaies its own vengeance as an unſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal and implacable executioners of it, who were the firſt imploters in the ſervice. *p.*34.29. It

Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious King but by My sufferings? p.37.1.

It is a hard and disputable choise for a King that love's his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them. p.37.3.

Miscarriages in Government may escape, rather through ill Counsel of *some men* driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the Publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie a Prince hath of himself either to injuriousness, or oppression. p.37.12.

The hazards of war are equal; nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of persons. p.37.23.

Unnatural motions seem to manie men rather the production of a surfet of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easilie finde or make causses of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Justice, or Parliamentarie privilege. p.37.32.

The sole exposeing a man to the publick *odium* is enough to ruine anie man, before his cause bee heard or tried. p.38.26.

The greatest guilt of those which were voted and demanded as delinquents was this, that they would not suffer themselvs to bee over-aw'd with tumults and their patrons; nor compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence the designs of those men, who agitated innovations, and ruin both in Church and State. p.39.1.

Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeth with the stomaches of fellow-Subjects. p.46.24.

I desire not to bee safer, then I wish My people. p.46.36.

They who are conscious to their own evil merits and designes, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his flock, p.47.8.

Factious

Factious distractions must need follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government, which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eies to forsee; so, they will finde, it hath more mouths too, which must bee satisfied; and at best, hath rather a monstrositie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie; where counsel may bee in manie as the senses: but the Supreme Power can bee but in one as the Head. *p.*48.1.

The Hearts of Subjects the greatest Treasure; and best Ammunition of a King. *p.*49.14.

I cannot buy My peoples peace, and My own safetie at too dear a rate, save onely with the parting with My conscience and honor. *p.*50.37.

Som things which a King might approve, yet in honor and policie are at som time to bee denied to *som men*, lest hee should seem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities. *p.*51.37.

No man seek's to limit and confine his King in reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in power and dominion. *p* 53.3.

A just Prince ought not so much to look at number and power, as to weigh Reason and Justice. *p.*56.25.

Tumults are the Hounds that attend the crie, and hollaw of those Men, who hunt after factions and private designs, to the ruine of Church and State. *p.*56.30.

Sudden and vast desires of change must bee imputed to those few, who armed themselvs with the manie-headed and manie-handed Tumults. *p.*57.37.

It is the resolution of a good Prince, that nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to contradict, or vanitie to shew his Negative power shall have anie Reass upon his judgment, to make him gratifie his will by denying anie thing, which reason and conscience command's him not: Nor on the other side to consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion

gion perſwade Him, to bee for God's glorie, the Churche's good, His people's welfare, and His own peace. p.58.9.

A good Prince will ſtudie to ſatisfie his People: but will never for fear or flatterie gratifie anie faction how potent ſoever: for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſ, and oppreſs the bodie p.58.18.

The Intereſt of a Prince lie's as much 'in the common welfare of His Subjects, as *ſom men's* doth in their perturbation, who think they cannot do well but in evil times. p.61.38.

A pious Prince look's upon the effuſion of his Subjects's blood, as exhauſted out of his own veins. p.65.27.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion or ſom ſelf-ſeeking, more then true zeal and pious diſcretion, for anie forreign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelvs have uſed, rather ſucceſsfully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame phyſick on different conſtitutions will have different operations; that may kill one which doth but cure another. p.69.1.

Men jealous of the juſtifiableneſs of their doings and deſigns before God never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carrie their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the people: what cannot bee juſtified in Law and Religion had need to bee fortified with Power. p.72.20.

Inconſtancie attend's all mindes engaged in violent motions. p.72.36.

In vain do men think to build their Pietie on the ruines of Loialtie. Nor can thoſe confederations bee durable, when ſubjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance under pretenſ of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion. p.73.8.

All Reaſon and true policie will teach ſubjects, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſt's in their fidelitie to the Crown not in their ſerviceableneſs to anie Partie. p.73.18

Som

Some men have so much of the serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Doves simplicitie. *p.73.32.*

Ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the vulgar credulitie: for, by such politick and seemingly-pious stratagems they think to keep the populacie fast to their Parties under the terror of perjurie. *p.75.31.*

No after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without the consent of the Prince, and without any like power or precedent from God's or Man's Law, can bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolv or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all subject's Consciences both to God and their Prince. *p.75.38.*

Illegal waies seldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties. Therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and design intended. *p.77.14.*

Unjust it is, both in the eie of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements. *p.79.31.*

The worst effects of open hostilitie com short of the designs of the stratagems and conflicts of Malice, which by falsities seek to oppress the Truth, and by jealousies to supplie the defect of real causses. *p.82.30.*

A good King can more willingly lose his Crowns then his Credit: nor are his Kingdoms so dear to him as his Reputation and Honor. Those must have a period with his life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of immortalitie, when hee is dead and gon: a good name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie. *p.82.31.*

When our eies are blinded with the mists of suspicions, wee are soon misled into the precipices of actions. *p.83.8.*

A good Prince is too conscious to his own affections

ons toward the generalitie of his people, to ſuſpect theirs to him. p.83.36.

The ſenſ of the injuries don unto his ſubjects is as ſharp, as thoſe don to a Prince himſelf. p.84.7.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happineſs. p.84.8.

I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonorably to betraie My own juſt Rights and Sovereigntie. p.84.34.

Som look ſo much at the goodneſs of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief plotted and intended. p.86.15.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redreſs what I ſaw in reaſon was either don or adviſed amiſs. p.88.31.

The noiſ and oſtentation of Libertie, an uſual artifice to withdraw peoples affections from their Prince to innovating deſigns. p.89.10.

Libertie, in the popular ſenſ, is, to do what every man liketh beſt. p.89.24.

The divineſt Libertie is to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion. p.89.16.

The bounds of the Laws good men count their Ornament and Protection: others their manacles and oppreſſion, p.89.29.

It is not juſt any man ſhould exſpect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafetie, while hee ſeek's an unreaſonable Libertie. p.89.32.

They are the beſt preſervers of true Liberties, who allow themſelvs the leaſt licentiouſneſs againſt, or beyond the Laws. p.89.36.

It is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould bee really tender of their fellow-ſubjects Liberties, who have the hardineſs to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints

againſt

against all Laws both *divine* and humane. *p.*90.2.

Proud and arrogant activitie seek's to hatch every egg of different opinion to a Faction, or schism. *p.*90.11.

Never were any Princes more Glorious, then those, whom God hath suffered to bee tried in the fornace of Afflictions by their *injurious* Subjects. *p.*91.4.

'Tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not honor their King. *p.*91.22.

God hath graven such characters of *divine* autoritie and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. *p.*91.27.

The pride of those that studie Novelties can hardly allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlines. *p.*93.18.

Slight and easie is that Legerdemane, which will serv to delude the Vulgar. *p.*97. 16.

No men are prone to bee greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful Constitutions; and whose licentious humors most pretended conscientious Liberties. *p.*97. 23.

The advantage of Error consist's in noveltie and varietie, as Truths in unitie and constancie. *p.*99.9.

A King is entrusted by God and the Laws with the good both of Church and State. *p.*100.6.

Use, the great arbitrator of words and master of language. *p.*102.6.

Faction and Confusion, Emulation and Contempts are prone to arise among equals in power and function. *p.*104.18.

Inconstancie a great prejudice against Noveltie. *p.*105. 28.

It is a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function the faults of times or Persons. *p.*106.30.

Secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and estate, which Christian Princes have annexed

annexed to Bishops and Church-men, are but as just rewards of their learning and pietie; enablements to works of Charitie and Hospitalitie: and meet strengthnings of their Autoritie in point of respect and observance. *p.*106.34.

Respect and observance in peacefull times is hardly paid to any governors by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their estates. *p.*107.4.

Povertie and meanness exposeth Governors and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners. *p.*107.6.

There is an innate principle of vitious opposition in all men against those that seem to reprove or restrain them. *p.*107.19.

What I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessarie for all places, and at all times. *p.*110.13.

Far better it is to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltie. *p.*111.5.

The waie of Treaties is as a retiring from fighting like beasts to arguing like men, whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs. *p.*112.37.

It is an office not onely of humanitie, rather to use reason then force; but also of Christianitie to seek peace, and ensue it. *p.*113.10.

The events of all War by the sword are very dubious; and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means. *p.*113.16.

No success should enhance the price of Peace. *p.*113.20.

Jealousies are not so soon allaied, as they are raised. *p.*113.39.

Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent engagements, then to engage: what is wanting in equitie must bee made up in pertinacie. *p.*114.1.

Such as have little to enjoy in Peace or lose in War

War ſtudie to render the verie name of Peace odious and ſuſpected. *p.*114.4.

Som men have that hight, as to interpret all fair condeſcendings as arguments of feebleneſs, and glorie moſt in an inflexible ſtifneſs, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them. *p.*115.3.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſs will not ſet a juſt Prince above a Treatie; nor the loweſt ebb below a fight; though it is not any ſign of true valor to bee prodigal of men's lives rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reaſons, or to ſubſcribe to other men's. *p.*115.23.

In the ſafetie and preſervation of the Prince and the Laws all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrie doth conſiſt: for and with all which it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion. *p.*119.20.

Neither ſhews, nor truth of Pietie are ſufficient to diſpenſ with, or expiate the defects of Subjects Dutie and Loialtie to their Prince. *p.*119.32.

In War the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide impair the welfare of the whole. *p.*121.9.

Our mutual diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good man's chiefeſt intereſt. *p.*122.20.

A great miſcarriage it is, that popular clamors and furie ſhould bee allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick ſenſ. *p.*123.33.

The ſtudie to pleaſ ſom Parties injure's all. *p.*123.35.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartialitie are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Counſils and endevors: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth. *p.*123.37.

The Vulgar are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies very much, but not verie long. *p.*126.6.

Good Princes, as they own their Kingdoms from God; ſo they deſire to rule for His Glorie and His Churches good. *p.*127.15.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means: so nor will evil beginings ever bring forth good conclusions, unless God, by a miracle of Mercie, create light out of darkness, Order out of Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions. *p.*127.21.

A good Prince wishe's his Subjects had a clear sight into his most retired thoughts, where they might discover how they are divided betwixt his love and care, not more to preserv his own Rights, then to procure their Peace and happiness; and extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroied. *p.* 129.4.

Bees will gather honie, where the Spider suck's poison. *p.*129.13.

Subjects can hardly bee happie, if their Prince bee miserable; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while hee is oppressed. *p.*129.18.

Sons men's design is like *Absalom's*, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all Reconciliation desperate. *p.*129.21.

With the Vulgar, Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus: as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: as if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world. *p.*130.21.

No secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the Reputation with the Vulgar. *p.*130.27.

The taking away of a Prince's Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of his life and his kingdoms. *p.*130.38.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence. *p.*133.24.

Confidence of an enemie may disarm and overcom him. *p.*133.31.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the State of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger. *p.*134.13.

It

It is som skil in plaieto know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, then to conteſt in vain. *p.*134.26.

Reſtraint, though it hath as little of ſafetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger, then is in Tumults and Armies. *p.*137.13.

If My captivitie, or death muſt bee the price of the Redemption of the Laws, I grudg not to paie it. *p.*138.1.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which cartie's not with it his ſoul's, his people's, and Poſteritie's thraldom. *p.*138.3.

I rather chuſe to ſuffer for My Subjects, then with them. *p.*138.8.

I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm many Tyrants over them, from whom I praie God deliver them, whatever becom's of Me. *p.*138.10.

The evil policie of men forbid's all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſs an injurious uſurpation. *p.*140.8.

The ſins of a Prince have the aggravation of his condition, the eminencie of his place adding weight to his offenſes. *p.*148.20.

The ſins of the People are ſo far the Princes, as hee improveth not the Power given him by God, to his Glorie and his ſubject's good. *p.*148.23.

Som little practice will ſerv that man, who onely ſeek's to repreſent a part of Honeſtie and Honor. *p.*151.33.

A King cannot bee ſo low, but Hee is conſiderable adding weight to that Partie where hee appear's. *p.*151.36.

Better to ſwim down a ſtream, then in vain to ſtrive againſt it. *p.*152.2.

Impoſſible it is for lines to bee drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of Union. *p.*152.9.

Such as will adventure on a King (without any Commiſſion

Commission but that of Will and Power) to take his Person into their custodie, must not bee thought over-modest or timorous to carrie on any design they have a minde to. p.152.39.

Power is above all Rule, Order, & Law. p.153.33.

Wee are much more happie to bee subject to the known Laws then to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first. p.155.2.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grow's wearie of it self, and end's in a refractorie sullenness; People's rebounds are often in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes. p.155.5.

The waies of Peace consist not in the divided wils of Parties, but the joynt and due observation of the Laws. p.155.33.

Sins expose a people to God's justice, their riches to other's injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion. p.156.19.

Wee must not measure a Caus by the succes; nor a mans judgment of things by his misfortunes. p.157.22.

A Prince that hath begun, and spent som years of distretion in the experience of troubles, and exercise of Patience, hath an advantage of wisdom above most Princes. p.157.30.

Pietie and all virtues both Moral, and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, in troubles, as trees set in winter, then in warmth and serenitie of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plentie; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor; or to bee contented onely with som leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good, for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed. p.157.31.

Flatterers are as inseparable from prosperous Princes, as flies from fruit in summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drive's away. p.158.11.

I had rather you should bee *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*; Good then great. *p.*158.14.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignitie a Prince can attein to, is to bee subject to God; that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in his heart. *p.*158.27.

The true glorie of Princes consist's in advancing God's Glorie, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churche's good: also in the dispensation of civil Power with Justice and Honor to the publick peace. *p.*158.31.

A Prince ought so to order affairs in point of Power, that hee need not to fear or flatter anie Faction. For, if ever hee stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, hee is undon. The Serpent will devour the Dove: Hee may never exspect less of Loialtie, Justice, or Humanitie, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwaies made God's: under the colors of pietie, ambitious policies march, not onely with greater securitie, but applause, as to the populacie. Hee may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but hee shal feel they have *Esau's* hands. *p.*160.17

The settled Laws of the Kingdom are the most excellent Rules a Prince can govern by. *p.*161.22.

Ingenuous Libertie consist's in the enjoiment of the fruits of industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which subjects themselvs have consented. *p.*161.30.

A Princes Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there beeing nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie. *p.*161.39.

I cannot learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick interest, and the good of the Communitie. *p.*162.17.

A Prince ought seriously to consider the former Real or Objected miscarriages of his Predecessors which might occasion troubles, that hee may avoid them. *p.*162.38.

A Prince ought not to repose so much upon any man's single Counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in himself, or others, a diffidence of his own judgment, which is likely alwaies to bee more constant and impartial to the interests of his Crown and Kingdom, then any man's. *p.*163.3.

A Prince must beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosness and asperitie of *som men's* Passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by him, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion. *p.*163.11.

Favors and rewards must bee distributed to all men by the Prince with an equal eie, and impartial hand, as Hee finde's them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them. *p.*163.35.

As a Prince need's no palliations for any Designes (as other men) so Hee ought to studie really to exceed, in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, pietie and virtue towards the People; even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion: so Hee shall neither fear any detection (as they do who have but the face & mask of goodness) nor shall Hee frustrate the just exspectations of his people: who cannot in Reason promise themselvs so much good from any subject's Novelties, as from the virtuous constancie of their King. *p.*164.24.

None are greater Oppressors of the estates, liberties, and consciences of the People then those men, that entitle themselvs the Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp Power over them. *p.*165.1.

The sin and follie of the people will sufficiently punish them in due time. *p.*165.5.

When ever Acts of indemnitie and Oblivion shall bee desired and accepted, let them bee granted, not onely as Acts of State-policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie and Choise. *p.*165.17.

Parliaments

Parliaments, in their right constitution with freedom and Honor, wil never injure or diminish the greatness of the King; but will rather bee as enterchangings of Love, Loialtie, and confidence between a Prince and his People. *p.*167.29.

The Publick interest consist's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People. *p.*168.5.

Wee must not starv our selvs, becaus som have forfeited on wholsom food. *p.*168.11.

A Crown is not worth taking up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonorable and irreligious terms *p.*168.20.

The Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion wil not long serv to hide *som men's* deformities. 169.33.

Religion to their God, and Loialtie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both the sin and infelicitie of the Subject. *p.*170.1.

There are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes. *p.*171.1.

The envie or enmitie of *som men* make's their own lives seem deadly to them, while the Prince enjoie's any part of His. *p.*171.9.

A King live's in nothing temporal so much, as in the love, and good will of his people. *p.*172. 12.

No Law of God or man invest's Subjects with any Power of Judicature without their Sovereign, much less against Him. *p* 173.38.

Som men pretend Justice to cover their perjurie. *p.*174.3.

Nothing make's mean Spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, then this, the Guilt of their unjust usurpation. *p.*174.16.

No Concessions of a Prince can ever satisfie, or abate the covetous Ambition of *som men. p.*174.30.

Kings are exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either men, or Devils which love confusion. *p.*175.5.

God will not suffer those men long to prosper in

their Babel, who build it with the Bones, and cemen
it with the blood of their Kings. p. 175.9

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My
death among themselvs. p. 175.12.

God wil not suffer them to go unpunished, whole
confederacie in sin is their onely securitie. p. 175.25.

The sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of My destroiers
will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie
against Mee. p. 177.1.

Good Subjects know how to excuse the Prince
failings, as a man, and yet to retein and paie their
dutie to Him as their King; there beeing no Religious
necessitie binding any Subjects, by pretending to
punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of
their Princes. p. 177.7.

They cannot hope long to enjoie their thumbs
and toes, who have, under pretens of paring others
nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest
strength. p. 177.21.

Those undertakings of men are many times lifted
up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applaus of the
world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injurious end
and oppression of the design. The prosperous winde
which oft fil the sails of Pirats, do not justifie their
Piracie and Rapine. p. 178.1.

I look upon it, with infinite more content, as a
quiet of Soul, to have been imployed in My endevors
contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the
Land, the Freedom and Honor of Parliaments, the
Rights of My Crown, the just Libertie of My Sub-
jects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine
Government, and due encouragements, then if I had
with the greatest advantages of succes, over-borne
them all. p. 178.

It is very strange that Mariners can finde no other
means to appeas the storm themselvs have raised
by drowning their Pilot. p. 179.

FINIS.